

Spirits of the Dead

Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe

Maureen Carroll

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Spirits of the Dead

*Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western
Europe*

MAUREEN CARROLL

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For my family in Canada

The life of the dead is set in the memory of the living.
(Cicero, *Philippics* 9. 4. 10)

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Preface and Acknowledgements

My interest in funerary monuments and the stories the inscriptions on them can tell is of long standing, but it was not until about five years ago that I began in earnest to record the data that has gone into the making of this book. Roman funerary monuments were commissioned by individuals during their lifetime or by the surviving family and friends. The messages the monuments convey are, therefore, immediate and direct, and they reflect how people wanted to be remembered. The information these inscribed documents and archaeological artefacts contain—often so very different from that preserved in other types of ancient written sources—makes Roman funerary monuments an ideal vehicle for exploring many aspects of life, death, and society in the Roman world. It has been the focus of my study to investigate the importance the Romans attached to the preservation of memory and to explore the ways in which funerary inscriptions can be used to reconstruct lives, however fragmentarily and imperfectly.

The scope of this book is broad, both chronologically and geographically. Monuments from western Europe are examined that span the period from the late second century BC to the fifth century AD. This includes Italy, the four provinces of Gaul, the Germanies, the Iberian provinces, and Britain. For the purposes of this book, the Roman Republic refers to the period from 509 BC when the kings of Rome were expelled and government was run by elected magistrates; the Imperial period (or ‘the Empire’) begins with the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra in 31 BC by Octavian (called *Augustus* from 27 BC) and extends to the early fifth century AD. In order to make the information presented here as accessible as possible to non-specialists, I have explained or translated technical terms in Latin (and occasionally Greek) as they occur in the text. A selection of epigraphic abbreviations as well as a sample of informative epitaphs on various themes is found in the full Latin text and in English translation in the appendix. Because I refer to places with their Latin and English names interchangeably, I include a list of place names, sorted by modern country, that are mentioned in the text.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the help of a number of organizations and individuals. Thanks to the financial support from the British Academy and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies I have been able to spend longer periods of time travelling, collecting data, and exploring monuments in cemeteries. Some of that time was spent at the British School at Rome, and I am very grateful to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Susan Russell, Maria Pia

Malvezzi, Roberto Cobianchi, and the staff at the School for making these stays most enjoyable and fruitful. Thanks also are due to the University of Sheffield for granting me study leave for two semesters, and to my colleagues in the Department of Archaeology who assumed some of my administrative duties whilst I was away. John Drinkwater and Anthony Birley kindly acted as referees for my grant applications, and their assessment of my project contributed significantly to securing the necessary funds. I should like to thank Alan Bowman and Alison Cooley for reading the first draft of my manuscript, making very helpful suggestions, and supporting my proposal to OUP from the beginning. OUP's reader made numerous helpful comments and spotted errors and inconsistencies in my text, for which I am very grateful.

Finally, I should like to thank the museums and archives which facilitated my visits, supplied illustrations, or granted permission to publish material I have photographed. Special thanks are due to the Musée archéologique de Nîmes, the Musée gallo-romain de Lyon-Fourvière, the Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano in Rome, and the Vatican Museums for their particular generosity and help. The following provided illustrations of material:

Rheinisches Bildarchiv: Figs. 3, 6, 39, 49, 58, 66, 67, 75, 79; Musée gallo-romain de Lyon-Fourvière, Département du Rhône: Figs. 9, 10, 13; Rheinisches Landesmuseum Mainz: Figs. 18, 38, 43, 44, 55–7, 60, 74; Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum, South Shields: Fig. 19; Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano, Rome: Fig. 22; The Vindolanda Trust: Fig. 24; Musées de Narbonne (Jean Lepage): Figs. 37, 45, 63; Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Fig. 42; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn: Figs. 49, 75; Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici di Ostia: Figs. 52, 62; The British Museum: Figs. 61, 71; Musei Vaticani: Fig. 70; Musée de l'Arles Antique: Figs. 73, 80; Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier: Fig. 78. Figures 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 23, 25–30, 32–35, 40, 41, 46–8, 50, 51, 54, 59, 64–6, 68, 69, 72, and 77 are the author's photographs. Sandra Siegers provided the photograph for Fig. 2. Figure 44 is reproduced from K. Klein, *Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern. Der Grabstein des Blussus* (Mainz, 1848), pl. 1. Maps 1–3 and the following figures were kindly drawn by Hugh Willmott: Fig. 4, Fig. 12 (adapted from Knapp 1992: no. 44/45); Fig. 16 (after Carroll 2003: fig. 61); Fig. 21 (adapted from Haffner 1989: plan 1); Figs. 31, 53 (adapted from *RIB*, pp. 188, 181); Fig. 36 (after *Inscriptiones Italiae* IX.1.96); Fig. 76 (after Mazzoleni 1999: fig. 164).

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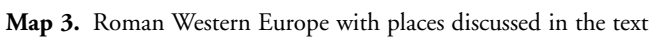
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Map 1. Western Europe and the Roman provinces



Map 2. Italy and the neighbouring northern and eastern regions with places discussed in the text



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Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AnalRom	<i>Analecta Romana Instituti Danici</i>
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AntClass	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AntJ	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>
ArchSchw	<i>Archäologie der Schweiz</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BCAR	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma</i>
BerRGK	<i>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission</i>
BGU	<i>Berliner Griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin, 1895–
BJb	<i>Bonner Jahrbuch</i>
BullMusKöln	<i>Kölner Museums-Bulletin</i>
CBA	<i>Council for British Archaeology</i>
CIJ	Frey, P. J.-B., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum: Jewish Inscriptions from the Third Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.</i> , i. Europe. New York, 1975.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1863–.
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CronPomp	<i>Cronache Pompeiane</i>
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> (Deutschland). Bonn, 1973–.
ES	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
IAq.	J. B. Brusin, <i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> . Udine, 1991–3.
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i> . Vatican City, 1922–92.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1924–

IGRR	Cagnat, R. <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> . Paris, 1906–27.
I.It.	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> . Rome, 1931–.
ILA	<i>Inscriptions Latines d'Aquitaine</i> . Bordeaux, 1991–.
ILCV	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> . Berlin, 1925–7.
ILS	Dessau, H., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Berlin, 1892–1916.
ILT	Merlin, A., <i>Inscriptions latines de Tunisie</i> . Paris, 1944.
ILTG	Wuilleumier, P., <i>Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules (France) (XVIIe Supplément à Gallia)</i> . Paris, 1963.
JbRGZM	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
KJb	<i>Kölner Jahrbuch</i>
LTUR	E. M. Steinby, ed., <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> . Rome, 1993–2000.
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy</i>
MM	<i>Madridier Mitteilungen</i>
NSc	<i>Notizie degli Scavi</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
RAC	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
RendIstLomb	<i>Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze Morali e Storiche</i>
RIB	R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (vol. i). Stroud, 1995.
RIU	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> . Amsterdam and Bonn, 1972–2001.
RivStClass	<i>Rivista di Studi Classici</i>
RM	<i>Römische Mitteilungen</i>
RStPomp	<i>Rivista di Studi Pompeiana</i>
SH	U. Schillinger-Häfele, 'Vierter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII und zweiter Nachtrag zu Fr. Vollmer, <i>Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae</i> ', <i>BerRGK</i> 58 (1977), 447–604.
S.It.	<i>Supplementa Italica</i> (nuova serie). Rome, 1981–.
TransAm PhilSoc	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TZ	<i>Trierer Zeitschrift</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction

Gaius Hostius Pamphilus, freedman of Gaius, a doctor, had this monument built for himself and Nelpia Hymnis, freedwoman of Marcus, and for their freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants. Here is our eternal home, here is our estate, here are our gardens, here is our memorial. Width thirteen feet, depth twenty-four feet.

(Funerary epitaph of the first century BC from Rome: *CIL* I². 1319 = *CIL* VI 9583/*ILS* 8341)

Tombs in all their above-ground forms, from simple stone slab to multi-storeyed mausoleum, were among the most visible and public monuments of Roman settlements across the empire. Because ancient Roman law prescribed that the dead should be buried outside the settlements, approaching a Roman town by any of the main overland routes converging on it necessitated passing through a community of the dead, their memory being called forth by the tombs inscribed with all manner of personal information (Fig. 1). The roadside and suburban location of burial grounds on community land ensured good visibility of the funerary monuments, and it contributed to the constant link between the past and the present. This is an important point because these memorials would have been seen and visited by many, and it was the visitors to the tombs—either family and friends or complete strangers—who kept the memory of the dead alive. The roads lined with tombs ‘inscribed for all to see’ are the busy spots that the poet Propertius in the late first century BC referred to as places ‘where the crowds travel along an unsleeping thoroughfare’.¹ Tombs and cemeteries also were often located in close proximity to suburban houses and shops, and they sometimes encroached on each other. This too helped to break down the boundaries between the dead and the living and to foster the intimate connection between the spaces inhabited by both. Even in the countryside the cemeteries associated with villas and farms were located in close proximity to the buildings of the estate where people lived and worked, and large and ostentatious monuments were often erected along the country roads and overland routes that were travelled by many.

¹ Propertius, *Elegies* 3. 16. 25–6.



Figure 1. Tombs line the road (left and right) just outside the southern city walls and the Porta Nocera gate at Pompeii

Whether in suburban or in rural settings, the tombs, their images, and their texts needed and addressed an audience.

The word ‘cemetery’ in the English language is defined as a place or area set apart for burials, but it is appropriate to ask whether this is valid for the Roman situation. The English word is derived from the Latin *coemeterium*, itself a borrowed term from the Greek *κοιμητήριον*, meaning ‘a sleeping place’ (from *κοίμησις*, sleeping). Its first attested usage is late: in Tertullian’s treatise *On the Soul*, written in the late second century AD, and in Hippolytus’ account of the papal commissioning of a Christian cemetery around AD 200 in Rome.² The idea of a place where the dead are only sleeping is intimately connected to the Christian belief that death was a temporary state and that the baptized would awaken on the Last Day to be reunited in heaven. It is also related to the way the early Christian community buried their dead, namely set apart and even segregated from pagan burial grounds and the rest of the community (see Chapter 10). It is, therefore, anachronistic to speak of ‘cemeteries’ in pre-Christian Roman settlements, since the areas used for burial certainly were not relegated to locations distant from the village, town, or city, nor were Roman burials isolated from the living. Furthermore, Roman burial grounds

² Tertullian, *On the Soul* 51; Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena (Refutation of All Heresies)* 9. 12. 14.

were accessible to all, regardless of religious belief. When contemporary Romans referred to areas for burials, they used the word *necropolis* (from the Greek, 'city of the dead'), or *sepulcretum* or *sepulcrum*, although *sepulcrum* could be used for a single burial or a larger area containing many burials.³ Often the Romans simply spoke of graves by using words such as *tumulus* (earth mound), *monumentum* (monument), or *bustum* (funeral pyre, tomb), all of which refer more to the visible monument than the actual buried corpse. Despite certain incongruities and anachronisms, and for lack of a better term in general circulation, the word 'cemetery' nevertheless will be used here when referring to Roman burial grounds, although we must keep in mind that Roman 'cemeteries' did not resemble those of our own day.

Roman tombs on the outskirts and in the suburbs of towns represented an extension of the public and private architecture displayed inside the town, the streets of tombs being 'a show-piece façade for the social life of each community'.⁴ It was also a cumulative and very diverse 'show-piece', incorporating and joining together monuments built over decades and even centuries to commemorate generations of individuals. Part of the show, so to speak, was the inscription (*titulus*) on each and every tomb, preserving a text consisting of a few words (*verba*), a verse (*versus*), or a (sometimes lengthy) poem (*carmen*). These funerary monuments and the texts inscribed on them expressed ethnic and civic identities and professional achievement, recorded complex family ties, and outlined public and private careers. Because the tombs reveal the attitudes, aspirations, and ideologies of citizens and non-citizens in Roman towns, the cemeteries represent a visual cross-section not of all inhabitants, but of a collective of individuals and groups from many levels of society who already possessed or came to internalize Roman social and cultural values. These range, to name a few examples, from city magistrates, retired army veterans and their wives, merchants and craftsmen, and imperial freedmen, to people on the margins of society such as gladiators and slaves. All these people, and many others, can be recognized today because, as Greg Woolf put it, they used epigraphy as a 'device by which [they] could write their public identities into history'.⁵

Funerary monuments visibly marked the sites where human remains were deposited after the body had been prepared for burial and the funeral had been conducted.⁶ The inscriptions on these monuments give us insight into Roman attitudes towards death. Nihilistic sentiments on the finality of death,

³ Catullus, *Poems* 59. 2; Ulpian, *Digest* 11. 7. 2. 5; Horace, *Satires* 1. 8. 8–13; Cicero, *Laws* 2. 22. 55.

⁴ Purcell 1987: 40–1.

⁵ Woolf 1996: 39.

⁶ On funerals and funerary ritual, see Toynbee 1971: 43–72; Lindsay 2000.

and how human beings passed from nothingness (before birth) to nothingness (after death) in accordance with Epicurean and Stoic philosophy, are sometimes expressed in funerary inscriptions.⁷ But more prevalent in these texts are ideas about the survival of the spirits (*Manes*) of the dead who were powerful and divine subjects of propitiation, as witnessed by the frequent opening invocation 'to the spirits of the dead' (*Dis Manibus*), or about the rebirth of mortal remains mixed with the earth as flowers, or about the reunion of surviving children, husbands, wives, and friends with their loved ones.⁸ The dead were generally thought to continue to reside either in the tomb itself, hence the occasional reference to the tomb as one's eternal home (*domus aeterna*), or they were believed to live on near the grave. Not only the remains of food offerings placed in the tomb with the dead have survived in Roman cemeteries, particularly in the northern Gaulish and Germanic regions (Fig. 2), but also pipes and tubes into which liquid offerings to the dead could be poured. The dead could thus be kept 'alive' and nourished. Lucius Rurnius Pollo speaks through the epitaph on his tomb in Narbonne in southern Gaul: 'I drink continuously all the more eagerly in this monument of mine because I must sleep and remain here forever'.⁹ Feasts at the tomb also were celebrated by surviving relatives. These banquets took place on the day of the funeral (*silicernium*), on the ninth day after the funeral (*cena novendialis*), on the birthday (*dies natalis*) of the deceased, and during other festivals of the dead in spring and summer in honour and in memory of the dead. The provision of an inscribed text on the tomb recording the names of the dead and details of their former lives also contributed significantly towards the perception of keeping memory alive.

Once the last rites had been conducted and the body deposited in the grave, the final resting place of an individual was a sacred and inviolable site, a *locus religiosus*. In the Roman world disposal of the dead primarily involved either (a) burning the body on a pyre, and depositing the cremated remains in a variety of types of containers such as glass jars, ceramic pots, stone boxes, marble urns, or even in small wooden caskets; or (b) burying the unburnt corpse under a covering of tiles, or in a wooden, lead, or stone coffin. In the Early Iron Age in Italy, cremation was the prevalent burial rite in the north

⁷ CIL V. 2283; CIL V. 2893/ILS 8164; CIL VI. 17985a; CIL VI. 4632/ILS 8161a; CIL VI. 26003; CIL VI. 14672/ILS 8156; CIL XIII. 530/ILS 8163/Wierschowski 2001: no. 360.

⁸ CIL VI. 7579/ILS 8190; CIL VI. 9693; CIL VI. 18817/ILS 8006; CIL VI. 29609; CIL VI. 35887/ILS 8168; CIL IX. 3184; CIL XII. 4015/Wierschowski 2001: no. 117; CIL XII. 5193. On Roman attitudes towards death, the body, and the soul, see Lattimore 1942: 21–65.

⁹ CIL XII. 5102/ILS 8154. For the expressed hope that the dead would join in at the funeral feast, see CIL VI. 26554. Propertius (*Elegies* 4. 5. 1–4) curses Acanthis with the bitter wish that her spirit feel thirst. The spirits of the dead could turn nasty if neglected: Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 547–56.



Figure 2. Offerings of food (chicken, eggs) and drink in ceramic and glass vessels for the afterlife from a mid-4th-century grave excavated by the author in Cologne

and in Etruria, Latium, and Campania, whereas the usual method for disposing of the dead was inhumation in the rest of the peninsula.¹⁰ Both Cicero and Pliny the Elder refer to inhumation as the most ancient burial rite of Rome, a rite by which ‘the body is restored to earth’.¹¹ Yet the earliest burials in Rome itself, dating to around 1000 BC, are cremations, and to the east of Rome at Osteria dell’Osa (ancient Gabii) cremation and inhumation were practised simultaneously for most of the eighth century.¹² According to Plutarch and Cicero, the Roman king Numa in the seventh century BC forbade the cremation of his corpse.¹³ Lucretius, writing in the first century BC, mentions inhumation and cremation as contemporaneous burial rites practised in late Republican Italy, although the Cornelii in Rome were singled out as rather old-fashioned for inhuming their dead in the third and second centuries BC, and indeed until the death of Lucius Cornelius Sulla in 78 BC, when cremation was by far more common.¹⁴ In this context, embalming of

¹⁰ Cornell 1995: 33–6.

¹¹ Cicero, *Laws* 2. 22. 56; Pliny, *Natural History* 7. 187.

¹² Cornell 1995: 48–53.

¹³ Plutarch, *Numa* 22; Cicero, *Laws* 2. 22. 56.

¹⁴ Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 3. 890–3; Cicero, *Laws* 2. 22. 56–7; Pliny, *Natural History* 7. 187.

the body is also mentioned in Roman sources, but as a very exotic and foreign custom originating in ancient Egypt, and one that was still being practised there in the Roman period.¹⁵

Tacitus, writing in the late first century AD, referred to cremation as the 'Roman custom' (*Romanus mos*), and by this time it had become the primary method of disposing of the dead in the conquered territories of western Europe.¹⁶ Nevertheless, inhumation still continued to be practised by some indigenous populations after the Roman conquest. The great majority of burials in early Roman Cologne, for example, are cremations, but one of the city's cemeteries stands out as decidedly different. About one-quarter of the burials of the second half of the first century in the north-west cemetery (near the church of St Gereon) are inhumation burials, some with ritually sacrificed horses. It has been suggested that these represent a non-local Germanic population in Cologne that did not adopt the Roman custom of cremating the dead.¹⁷ By a rare stroke of luck, the gravestone of a northern Gaulish woman named Bella was found in 1962 in this same cemetery still marking the site of her inhumation burial (Fig. 3).¹⁸ The inscription dating to about AD 20 tells us that she was an immigrant from the territory of the Remi, roughly the Aisne-Marne region of France. One might assume that Bella was buried according to her native Remian customs, but by the late Iron Age the Remi cremated their dead.¹⁹ There is, therefore, no immediately apparent explanation for the fact that this woman was inhumed. Inhumation appears also to have been a strong tradition on the north-west Italian coast and in parts of southern Gaul, even after the region was absorbed into the Roman empire.²⁰ Morris rightly concludes that the change from inhumation to cremation in the early Roman empire was not completely straightforward, with various regions and ethnic groups continuing to some extent to practise their traditional burial rites.²¹

Petronius in the 60s AD has his characters in the *Satyricon* refer to inhumation as a 'Greek custom' (*Graeco more*), and archaeology confirms that burying the body intact was indeed the primary method of disposing of the body in the eastern Mediterranean, even after the Greek East became part of the Roman empire.²² By the early decades of the second century, at least in

¹⁵ Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 3. 890–3; Tacitus, *Annals* 16. 6; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1. 45. 108.

¹⁶ *Annals* 16. 6.

¹⁷ Riedel 1998, 2000.

¹⁸ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 310/Carroll 2001: 90, fig. 43/Wierschowski 2001: no. 660.

¹⁹ Roymans 1990: 228–9.

²⁰ Hatt 1951: 3–5.

²¹ Morris 1992: 48–68.

²² Petronius, *Satyricon* 111. 2. On inhumation in the Greek East, see Morris 1992: 52–3.



Figure 3. Gravestone of a young Remian woman set up by her husband in Cologne, c. AD 20. The baby in swaddling clothes in her arms may indicate that she died in childbirth. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

Rome, the ‘Greek custom’ of inhumation had begun to replace cremation as the primary burial practice for individuals of elevated social status, possibly following the example of the philhellenic emperor Hadrian.²³ In the 160s and 170s in the ports of Rome at Ostia and Portus both cremation and inhumation were rituals practised by the wealthy and middle classes, often in the same tombs.²⁴ One of the clearest instances of the two rites coexisting at this time is found in S. Pietro in Casale north of Bologna where an inscribed marble sarcophagus contained the skeleton of Titus Attius Maximus and the cremated remains of Rubria Semne.²⁵ Both rites are attested in the Roman West in the second and third centuries, but in differing proportions. Thus we find only one inhumation, but 181 cremation burials in the period between

²³ Morris 1992: 54–6.

²⁴ Ibid. 56–7; Taglietti 2001.

²⁵ Ortalli 2001: 226–7, fig. 7.

the mid-first and the early decades of the third century AD at the rural burial site at Septfontaines in western Luxembourg, but, in contrast, only thirty-five cremation burials (all dating to the second century) in a cemetery with 495 graves from the late first to the beginning of the fifth century AD at the rural cemetery west of the Seine at Chantambre in France.²⁶ At the latter site, inhumation predominated at the end of the first century, and inhumation and cremation coexisted in the second century. Despite these variations, it is generally accepted that in the western provinces inhumation increased progressively in the course of the third century, becoming the exclusive custom by the fourth century at the latest.

The monuments erected to contain burials or to mark the spot of a burial are numerous and varied. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, so that some general remarks here will suffice. Perhaps not surprisingly, the most extravagant and even eccentric structures such as pyramids and cylindrical drum-tombs are to be found in Rome itself in the first century BC where aristocratic families vied with each other for public recognition of status and importance, at least until Augustus with his enormous mausoleum on the Campus Martius effectively outdid them all in 27 BC (Fig. 4a).²⁷ There is great regional variety in Italy and the West, but there are also substantial differences in preferred tomb types from one community to the next in the same geographical area, and there are even differences in popular types of monuments in individual cemeteries of the same community. Uniformity and, by association, emulation in such cemeteries is a common feature. For that



Figure 4. Comparative sizes of tombs measured against a) the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, 27 BC; b) tomb of the senator, consul, and general Lucius Munatius Plancus, Gaeta, c. 20 BC; c) tomb of the Italian legionary veteran Lucius Poblicius, Cologne, c. AD 40; d) cenotaph on Annia Regilla, wife of the Athenian millionaire Tiberus Herodes Atticus, Rome, c. AD 160

²⁶ Polfer 2000: 33; Murail and Girard 2000: 105–6, 108.

²⁷ Von Hesberg 1992: 99–100, fig. 52; Von Hesberg and Panciera 1994; Davies 2000: 13–19, figs. 2–5.

reason, funerary monuments that diverge significantly from the others in a cemetery in form and content signal that the dead commemorated by them might have originated from other geographical regions, using these monuments to express their identity as 'others'. Thus the small group of Praetorian guardsmen originating from northern Italian towns who died and were buried outside the Porta Nola in Pompeii in southern Italy were not commemorated with the grave markers of stylized human form (*herm stelae*, or *columelle* in Italian) that were absolutely typical for Pompeian cemeteries, but were given inscribed rectangular *stelae* with a rounded top that were customarily used for soldiers of the Praetorian guard in Rome and elsewhere.²⁸ This contrasts with the gravestone of a Praetorian guardsman who was a native Pompeian and who died in Pompeii. He was buried outside the Porta Stabia, and his grave was marked by a *columella*, in keeping with local tradition.²⁹

By far the most common and widespread memorial throughout the western provinces from the early first century AD was a rectangular grave *stèle* set up on its own and anchored in the ground or attached to the boundary wall of a burial plot.³⁰ Particularly popular in Narbonne in the first century AD were the rounded-top *stelae* (or *cippi*) up to 50 centimetres thick that were integrated at regular intervals in the stone enclosure wall around the burial plot.³¹ Similar *cippi* of Travertine limestone with simple epitaphs had been common in Rome itself in the first century BC amongst the more humble classes of society, including the slaves and freedmen who were buried in areas reserved for them by their wealthy aristocratic owners and patrons (Fig. 5).³² Stone altars up to two metres in height, and often richly decorated with garlands and floral designs were another type of memorial found frequently in Rome, Pompeii, and Nîmes in the first and second centuries AD, and occasionally as late as the third century on the Moselle.³³ As reflections of altars built for sacrifice in Roman sanctuaries, these funerary altars gave an air of sanctity to the burial site and underscored the nature of the grave as a *locus religiosus*.

Equally alluding to the sacred nature of a burial site and the heroization of the dead were the so-called temple tombs, actually miniature buildings with a square or round base supporting a temple-like superstructure with columns arranged around statues of the deceased and his family. The early temple tombs of the first century BC and early first century AD survive in Italy at Pompeii and Sarsina, in Spain at Tarragona, and in France, Switzerland,

²⁸ De Caro 1979; Kockel 1987: 195, fig. 57; Stefani 1998.

²⁹ Kockel 1987: 195, pl. 30c; Cooley and Cooley 2004: 156.

³⁰ Gabelmann 1972; Noelke 1980: 125–35.

³¹ *CIL* XII. 4501; *CIL* XII. 5153/5154/5154add; *CIL* XII. 4903/4661.

³² *AE* 1991, 86/Frigeri 2001: 54, fig. 9; *AE* 1991: 138/Frigeri 2001: 49, fig. 3; *CIL* I², 1237/Frigeri 2001: 49, fig. 2.

³³ Boschung 1987; Kleiner 1987; Sinn 1991: 65–95, figs. 96–195; Kockel 1983: 22–6, pl. 26a; Sauron 1983; Varène 1969: 102–15.



Figure 5. *Cippus* of Travertine limestone commemorating a freedman and a freedwoman in Rome, 1st century AD. The last two lines give the dimensions of the grave plot. Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano

and Germany at Glanum, Nîmes, Lyon, Faverolles, Avenches, and Cologne (Figs. 4c, 6), to name a few sites.³⁴ Occasionally, the tomb monument is referred to in funerary inscriptions as a chapel (*aedis*) or temple (*templum*), and from the second century AD the sanctity of the tomb is suggested by the opening invocation that the grave is sacred to the spirits of the dead (*Dis Manibus sanctum*).³⁵ None of these terms or phrases, however, is a reference to a particular type of tomb architecture. Although not a temple tomb of the type described above, the brick-built memorial of Annia Regilla, wife of the Athenian millionaire Tiberius Herodes Atticus, was constructed in AD 160 outside Rome to resemble a Classical podium temple with a flight of steps leading to a columned porch in front of the main chamber (Fig. 4d). The two marble panels associated with the building preserve her eulogy (in Greek), the text referring to the memorial both as a holy temple and a sanctuary, whilst

³⁴ Pompeii: Kockel 1983: 33–4; D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: tombs 9OS, 13 OS, 34aEN; Sarsina: Toynbee 1971: 131, pl. 37; Ortalli 1987; Tarragona: Toynbee 1971: 165–6, pl. 56; Von Hesberg 1992: 144, fig. 86; Von Hesberg 1993: 164–5, fig. 78c; Glanum: Toynbee 1971: 126–7, pl. 31; Bromwich 1993: 217–19; Avenches: Flutsch and Hauser 2000; Bossert 2000; Cologne: Precht 1975; Galsterer and Galsterer 1979; Gabelmann 1987: 291–2, pl. 56a; Nîmes: Varène 1969: 92–101; Faverolles: Fevrier 2000; Deyts 2000; Lyon: Hatt 1951: 168–9; Tranoy 2000: 164–5, fig. 16.4. For a general discussion of this type of tomb, see Von Hesberg 1992: 121–31.

³⁵ *CIL* XIV. 166; *CIL* XIV. 480; *CIL* VI. 18817/*ILS* 8006; *CIL* VI. 28551/*ILS* 8042; *CIL* VI. 10985/*ILS* 8065; *CIL* VIII. 9124/*ILS* 8084.

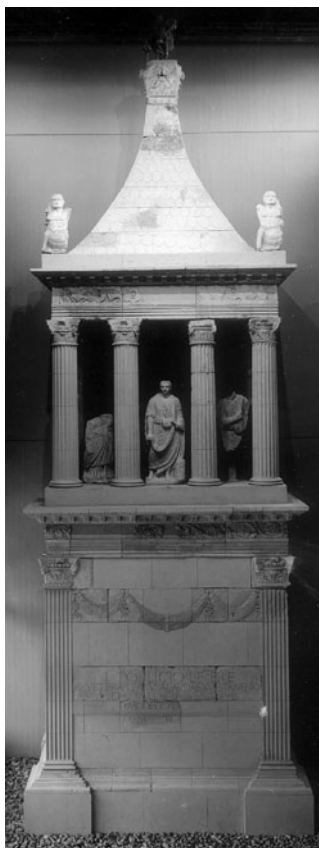


Figure 6. Temple tomb of Lucius Poblicius, an Italian legionary veteran, who died in Cologne around AD 40. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

the fields, gardens, and meadows around it are called holy land.³⁶ These and other inscriptions clearly highlight the sanctity of Roman tombs.

Smaller and less elaborate, but derived from the temple tombs, were the pseudo-temple tombs of the first century AD as they are known at Mainz on the middle Rhine in Germany, at Aquileia in north-east Italy, and Celeia (Celje Šempeter) in Slovenia.³⁷ These consisted of a stone base supporting a

³⁶ Annia Regilla actually was buried in Attica in Greece. For her cenotaph on the estate (Triopion) of Herodes Atticus off the Via Appia outside Rome (here Fig. 4), see Kammerer-Grothaus 1974; Von Hesberg 1992: 185–6, 230, fig. 116. The inscription (*IG XIV. 1389*) is reproduced in Greek and in German by Kammerer-Grothaus, 240–5, pl. 87. It refers to her tomb in Attica as ‘similar to a temple’.

³⁷ Mainz: Gabelmann 1987: 293–4, pl. 56c, d; Witteyer and Fasold 1995; Aquileia: Toynbee 1971: 79–82, fig. 2; Gabelmann 1987: 299; Reusser 1987; Hope 1997: 84–6, fig. 12; Hope 2001:

stele carved with figural scenes and surmounted by a pyramidal roof. Particularly popular in the second and third centuries AD in the Roman West, especially in the Moselle valley in western Germany and in the Semois valley in south-eastern Belgium at sites such as Neumagen, Trier/Igel, and Buzenol, were the pillar monuments carved with reliefs on all sides.³⁸ These depict the deceased as well as numerous scenes of activities relating to the life of the family whose tomb was marked by the pillar.

Decorated stone chests and urns were manufactured from the first to third centuries AD as containers for cremated remains, and stone sarcophagi large and small were used to contain inhumation burials from the first decades of the second century.³⁹ The latter were either deposited inside a tomb chamber, or they stood in the open within a walled enclosure. Very elaborate marble sarcophagi produced in Attica and Asia Minor were exported to the western empire, but they were also manufactured in Rome and Ostia.⁴⁰ Simpler examples made of local stone can be found in provincial centres such as Cologne where sandstone sarcophagi with winged figures at either end of the front side of the sarcophagus were particularly popular in the late second and third century.⁴¹

In addition to the above-mentioned types of tombs, which are found throughout the western empire, there were others that appear to have been restricted largely to Italy and were particularly numerous on all the main roads outside Rome. These are the brick or tufa house-tombs (*columbaria*) of the late Republic and early Empire, built partially or totally above ground, in which cremation urns were placed in niches in the walls.⁴² These *columbaria* often reached vast proportions, especially if they were built by the imperial family to house hundreds of urns containing the ashes of their numerous slaves and freedmen, many of them having served together in the same household when they were alive. Some *columbaria*, on the other hand, were

9–10, pl. 13A; Celeia: Toynbee 1971: 172–4, pls. 61–2; Gabelmann 1987: 299–300; Kolšek 1997; Pochmarski 1997.

³⁸ Neumagen: von Massow 1932; Balzer 1983; Buzenol: Toynbee 1971: 252; Trier/Igel: Dragendorff and Krüger 1924; Toynbee 1971: 164–5; Drinkwater 1982; Gabelmann 1987: 297–8.

³⁹ Sinn 1987; Sinn 1991: 98–127, figs. 196–331; Koch 1993.

⁴⁰ Herdejürgen 1990; Wrede 1990; Agnoli 2001.

⁴¹ *CIL* XIII. 8291/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 229; *CIL* XIII. 8307/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 249; *CIL* XIII. 8299/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 283; Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 293; *CIL* XIII. 8352/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 325; *CIL* XIII. 8364/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 349; *CIL* XIII. 8246/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 364; *CIL* XIII. 8381/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 387; Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 415. Noelke 1980: 144–6, fig. 15, refers to the figures as Eroles.

⁴² Toynbee 1971: 113–16, 130–43, pls. 28, 41; Von Hesberg 1992: 40–1, 76–80; Hope 1997; Heinzelmann 2000: 63–9.

not associated with a particular group of slaves or freedmen attached to the imperial family or other aristocratic families. *Columbarium I* in the Vigna Codini area between the ancient stretch of the Via Appia and Via Latina in Rome, for example, contained about 450 burial places that were sold, or given away, or traded freely by a disparate group of individuals.⁴³ Usually there was a space for two cinerary urns in each niche in a *columbarium*, and the epitaph panel below normally was divided into two sections, one per occupant of the niche. In the second and third centuries, above-ground house-tombs smaller than the earlier *columbaria* lined the streets outside the empire's capital and its port towns of Ostia and Portus (Fig. 7). Initially, only cremation urns were placed in the niches, but the change from cremation to inhumation is illustrated in the increasing inclusion in these brick-built tombs of larger niches (*arcosolia*) in the walls or rectangular masonry troughs (*formae*) below the floors for unburnt bodies and stone sarcophagi.⁴⁴

Commemorative inscriptions were an integral part of all these tombs and monuments. The *stelae* themselves were the 'canvas' upon which an epitaph



Figure 7. Brick-built tomb (Tomb 18) on the Via Romana outside Ostia with niches for cinerary urns

⁴³ Nielsen 1996.

⁴⁴ Toynbee 1971: 132–43, pl. 27; Von Hesberg 1987; Von Hesberg 1992: 38–45; Heinzelmann 2000: 85–91; Baldassare 2001.

was carved, ash chests, sarcophagi and altars were inscribed on one side, temple tombs and pseudo-temple tombs had an inscription on at least one face of the base, and on all of the mausolea and house-tombs inscribed stone slabs were fixed on the external and internal walls of the building (Fig. 8). Stone plaques with inscribed names and a few details were placed below the compartments for cinerary urns in the *columbaria*. Sometimes one half of individual panels was left blank, either because one of the occupants had not yet died or because the inscribing of the slab had never been carried out.⁴⁵ Marble plaques were also used to seal the niches in the house-tombs of the second and third centuries, although there are numerous plaques in these tombs that have no inscription at all. In these cases, the main inscription on the façade of the tomb indicated at least the owner of the tomb, even if many of the individuals who were buried within it were not named specifically.⁴⁶



Figure 8. Brick-built house tombs of the 2nd century AD in the Isola Sacra cemetery outside Portus

⁴⁵ Gregori and Mattei 1999: no. 1179, fig. p. 375; no. 1182, fig. p. 375.

⁴⁶ Eck 1987: 65–74, contrasts these ‘family’ or ‘hereditary’ tombs containing a few dozen (or more) burials with the large *columbaria* of the late Republic and early empire. In the latter, the name plaques beneath the niches might have fulfilled a legal function by claiming each niche as the property of one of the many hundreds of slaves and freedmen in the tomb who were not related to the imperial or aristocratic owner of the monument. They also may have helped visitors to locate relatives at times of memorial celebrations, although the *columbaria* were very dark and the plaques will have been hard to see. On the anonymity within the house-tombs of Portus, see Nielsen 1996: 46; Hope 1997: 81–2.

Saller and Shaw estimated in 1984 that roughly 170,000–190,000 funerary inscriptions have survived in the Roman empire, and subsequent discoveries are constantly increasing this number.⁴⁷ At first glance, this is an extraordinarily large corpus of material, but it is put into perspective when we consider what the population of the Roman world might have been. Of course, not all Roman tombstones have survived, and population estimates are subject to great uncertainties. The inhabitants of the Three Gauls, for example, are calculated to have been roughly twelve million after the Roman conquest, and if Gallia Narbonensis and the German provinces are included, the population may have reached sixteen million.⁴⁸ Estimates for Roman Britain suggest around four and possibly as high as six million.⁴⁹ The city of Rome alone had a population of at least one million in the high empire; there more than 35,000 (pagan) funerary inscriptions have survived.⁵⁰ Given these numbers of inhabitants and the quantity of surviving inscribed gravestones, it is clear that there must have been many people in the empire who were not commemorated in this way. For this there were probably two main reasons: affordability and cultural practices. In other words, those who were too poor to pay for a commemorative monument were buried in anonymous graves, and those who did not adopt the Roman cultural practice of erecting a permanent funerary marker must also have faded from public memory.

In early Republican Rome, simple burials without permanent stone memorials were very common, in fact they were the norm. The Twelve Tables, containing the laws of Rome in the fifth century BC, mention measures taken to limit funerary display, but the extravagances to which they refer are not ostentatious monuments, but rather the public displays leading up to the actual deposition of the corpse. These include the number of flautists at a funeral, the extent of mourning and drinking before the funeral, and the form of the funeral pyre. Apparently tomb architecture and inscribed texts in stone were of little importance in funerary practices in early Rome, an impression that is substantiated in the archaeological record by the widespread occurrence of simple graves in sixth- and fifth-century Latium.⁵¹ The only known

⁴⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984: 124. Between the publication in 1995 of the new edn. of inscriptions from the *conventus Cordubensis* (CIL II²/7) and Edmondson's review of this edn. in 1999, about 100 new inscriptions had come to light. This is just one example of the increasing numbers of epigraphic artefacts.

⁴⁸ Drinkwater 1983: 170; Woolf 1998: 138.

⁴⁹ Millett 1990: 185; De la Bédoyère 2001: 109.

⁵⁰ Huttunen 1974: 29; Eck 1987: 61. Bauchenß 2001: 319, reckoned that in Bonn, where, in the course of about 250 years, approximately 55,000 legionary soldiers were stationed, the names of only 130 men are known from inscriptions, i.e. just under 0.5% of the garrisons.

⁵¹ Cornell 1995: 105–8; Davies 1977: 16–17. Republican tombs on the heights of the Caelius Mons in Rome are discussed by Haselberger *et al.* 2002: 222–3, with older bibliography.

monumental tombs erected in the third and second centuries BC in Rome were those belonging to aristocratic families, but even these families considered it as important to display their position in society through the pomp of the funeral and the parading of ancestral images.⁵² In Ostia, burials of the second and first centuries BC often consisted of cremation urns placed in grave pits that were occasionally lined with tile or wood, and the only type of ostentation apparent was the furniture and offerings associated with the actual cremation rite itself.⁵³ By the mid-first century BC this began to change, and from then on monumental tombs and funerary inscriptions gradually became a prime form of status display, social competition, and perpetuation of memory. In Cicero's dialogue with Atticus in 46 BC, Atticus expressed surprise that the ancient Twelve Tables made no mention of limiting the cost of monuments, a remark that is to be understood against the background of the many monuments of his own time.⁵⁴ Certainly by the Augustan period in the late first century BC and early first century AD in Italy and in the provinces, it was customary in many sectors of society to employ tombs and the texts on them to ensure remembrance of the deceased in a public way.

Nevertheless, stone monuments were never present in the same density in all parts of the empire. Woolf has studied the relative proportion and density of inscriptions in general in the western empire, concluding, for example, that the average number of inscriptions surviving per hundred hectares in Italy is above thirteen, in Gallia Narbonensis over six, and in Germania Inferior above two.⁵⁵ In the western provinces, moreover, there is a rather uneven distribution of inscriptions, the majority of inscriptions coming from large towns on major routes that were also administrative centres. The earliest acceptance of inscribed votive and funerary reliefs in Lusitania, for example, can be recognized in the Roman colonies.⁵⁶ Another concentration can be seen on the Rhine, due to the Roman military presence from the first century AD. In general, it is these areas where the Roman cultural practice of funerary commemoration through an inscribed stone monument was most prevalent

⁵² Servius Sulpicius Galba: *CIL* I². 695/*CIL* VI. 3167/*ILS* 863; *LTUR* 4, 1999, 299, fig. 152 (Coarelli); Haselberger *et al.* 2002: 229; Cornelii Scipiones: *CIL* VI. 1284–94; Flower 1996: 160–80; *LTUR* 4, 1999, 281–5, figs. 136–8 (Zevi); Haselberger *et al.* 2002: 224; C. Publicius Bibulus: *CIL* VI. 1319/*ILS* 862; *LTUR* 4, 1999, 295, fig. 147 (Gallitto); Haselberger *et al.* 2002: 227. On early tombs in general, see Von Hesberg 1992: 19–26; Purcell 1987: 27–8. On ancestral images as a source of prestige in Republican funerals, see Flower 1996: 118–21.

⁵³ Heinzelmann 2000: 49–50, 97–8; Heinzelmann 2001b: 375.

⁵⁴ *Laws* 2. 25. 62. On the Twelve Tables (with an English translation and commentary), see Crawford 1996: 555–721. Von Hesberg 1992: 10–13, discusses laws on funerary extravagance.

⁵⁵ Woolf 1998: 81. See also Bodel 2001: 6–10.

⁵⁶ Edmondson 2002: 46–7. Shaw (1991: 73–6) highlights 'the urban factor' in the cultural practice of setting up inscribed memorials.

and most rapidly adopted. In Britain, the greatest majority of inscribed tombstones come from military contexts, and they are virtually absent from the 'civilian' southern part of the province, suggesting that the indigenous population felt little desire to emulate this Roman custom.⁵⁷

If we look at the areas on the Rhine and Danube, it is apparent that the custom of erecting stone tombs and carving stone grave markers caught on in the frontier zone only after the arrival of the Roman army.⁵⁸ The earliest inscribed monuments dating to the first decades of the first century AD belong to soldiers. At the same time Roman merchants and other exogenous individuals arrived on the scene, to which also their funerary monuments attest. Gabelmann has demonstrated that the earliest Roman gravestones in Mainz were carved by stonemasons from north-east Italy who probably followed the troops to the Rhine.⁵⁹ Although there were monumental tombs, such as circular barrow tombs (*tumuli*), in some areas of northern Gaul that marked the spot of elite Iron Age burials and that remained prominent features of the landscape for many generations, and although occasionally rather roughly carved stone *stelae* or obelisks were erected in late Iron Age cisalpine Italy and southern Gaul, the pre-Roman populations of Europe were unfamiliar with the tradition of commemorating *individuals* from all walks of life with monuments that bore the name and personal details of the deceased.⁶⁰

In some areas of the northern provinces it took several generations after the Roman conquest for local people to adopt the custom of setting up inscribed stones, if they ever did. In rural communities such as those in Flanders west of the Scheldt river the indigenous population continued to cremate their dead and bury them in the same way they had in the late Iron Age, and there is no evidence that they made use of grave monuments, either permanent or perishable ones.⁶¹ Perhaps in these very small communities and villages, where everyone knew each other and there was no significant influx of newcomers, there was no perceived need to make visible the identity of individuals. On the middle and upper Rhine, where Italian and other Mediterranean immigrants were numerous, the native Celtic population adopted the custom fairly early in the mid-first century AD, as a number of gravestones, pseudo-temple tombs

⁵⁷ De la Bédoyère 2001: 153–61.

⁵⁸ Carroll 2001: 90–1. The same phenomenon can be seen on the Danube (Conrad 2001), and in Alsace (Hatt 1951: 226–7).

⁵⁹ Gabelmann 1972: 93–4.

⁶⁰ Von Hesberg 1992: 111–13; Vermeulen and Bourgeois 2000; Hatt 1951: 6–8; Davies 1977; Collis 1977; Freigang 1997: 296–7; Schwarz 2002: 99–106. On Neolithic and Bronze Age anthropomorphic *stelae*, some used in the context of burials, see Briard 1979: 167–9; Mezzena 1988: 28–50.

⁶¹ Vermeulen and Bourgeois 2000: 152–3.

and funerary statues around Mainz indicate.⁶² On the lower Rhine, on the other hand, it was not until the second century that the local Germanic population embraced the custom to a certain extent.⁶³ In doing so, they not only commemorated their dead in the Roman fashion, using Latin epitaphs and Roman images, they were also able to compete in this very Roman form of publicly expressing status and belonging in society. On the Danube, we even find a Germanic king in Carnuntum employing a Roman funerary monument with a Latin inscription to commemorate his two brothers in the late second or early third century AD.⁶⁴ This king, Septimius Aistomodius, and his brothers, Septimius Philippus and Septimius Heliodorus, had clearly received Roman citizenship under the emperor Septimius Severus, possibly due to some assistance to the emperor during the Civil Wars of AD 193. Whatever the reason for this grant of citizenship to Aistomodius and his brothers, he chose a Roman vehicle with which to express his status.

There was a very real concern for the survival and perpetuation of the memory of the dead and a tangible anxiety for the individual to overcome death and 'escape the grave' by leaving a lasting memorial.⁶⁵ A permanent stone monument that seemingly defied time was a prime way of achieving this. Memorials to the dead were intended to be seen, read, and engaged with, not only by the friends, family, and descendants of the dead, but also by passing strangers, for generations to come. Numerous Roman epitaphs address the stranger, inviting him to stop, read, and reflect on the fate of the person whose life and death was recorded, and also reminding him of his own mortality. This is but one of the ways in which epitaphs communicated to the living in place of the dead who could no longer speak themselves. Is this Roman attitude towards being remembered so very different from more recent ideas on death and immortality? Consider Pliny the Younger's remarks on the neglected tomb of the consul Verginius Rufus in AD 106:

[The tomb] is still unfinished . . . I was filled with indignation and pity to think that nine years after Verginius' death his remaining ashes should still lie neglected without a name or inscription, although his glorious memory travels over the whole world. And yet he had made proper provision for recording in verse the immortal deed whereby his name lives forever . . . The dead [are] so easily forgotten that we ought to set up our own monuments and anticipate all the duties of our heirs.⁶⁶

⁶² Witteyer and Fasold 1995.

⁶³ Carroll 2001: 57–9, 90–1.

⁶⁴ *CIL* III. 4453/*ILS* 856; Pitts 1989: 51–2.

⁶⁵ Horace, *Odes* 3. 30. 1–9. For an excellent study on the role of the funerary monument in preserving memory and fame, see Häusle 1980.

⁶⁶ *Letters* 6. 10. 4–6.

Compare this to John Weever's commentary of 1631 on burial vaults in his day:

It was usual in ancient times, and so it is in these our days, for persons of especial rank and quality to make their own tombs and monuments in their life-time; partly for that they might have a certain house to put their head (as the old saying is) whensoever they should be taken away by death... But most especially because thereby they thought to preserve their memories from oblivion.⁶⁷

In both cases the tomb was thought to act as a memorial to the dead for future generations, and in both cases the importance of providing the appropriate structure in advance of death was appreciated.

Roman legal texts define the purpose of a memorial as a means of preserving memory and as a vehicle for representing the 'wealth and dignity' of an individual. The inscriptions on these memorials were of great importance in publicly displaying this wealth and dignity. The inscribed texts were thought to preserve memory as long as they survived, that is, as long as they were not altered or defaced by man or worn away by the elements. 'In my verses you will live, however long it may be', says the epitaph on a marble panel composed by the husband or partner of Allia Potestas in Rome.⁶⁸ But the inscribed texts on monuments were also there to inform the reader about the life of the individual whose tomb they marked, and in many cases to provide guidance or teach a lesson on how or how not to live. In fact, Varro connects the word *monimenta* (monuments) with *admonere* (to admonish): 'the monuments which are on tombs and along the road... admonish the passer-by that both they themselves, and those passers-by as well, were mortal'.⁶⁹ Funerary monuments were provided with epitaphs in which names, family histories, social rank, ethnic origin, careers, and personal tragedies were recorded for posterity. Some of the texts of the inscriptions were chosen by the deceased whilst still alive, others were selected by the surviving family, community, or comrades. As such, epitaphs preserve aspects of life that were considered important for the sometimes very personal message they conveyed to society, and they tell us how people wanted themselves or those close to them to be remembered.

Funerary inscriptions aided in defining one's place and identity within society, and the selected details included in the epitaphs shaped, often 'improved', and even 'corrected' one's image. They also reveal how individuals or groups used monumental writing, even if it was foreign to them, both to compete with their rivals and to conform to their social equals in acceptable

⁶⁷ Cited in Litten 1991: 197.

⁶⁸ *CIL* VI. 37965/Gordon 1983: 145–8/Friggeri 2001: 168–9.

⁶⁹ Varro, *On the Latin Language* 6. 49.

ways. This relates as well to the adoption, adaptation, or rejection of this Roman form of commemoration and self-representation outside Rome and Italy by populations with varying cultural and social backgrounds in western Europe. What makes Roman funerary commemoration recognizably Roman, despite all the variations in types of monuments and all the local and regional differences in the texts inscribed on them, is the use of Latin monumental writing in permanent form, the desire to capture in a few lines of text the essence and status of *individuals* who were part of a community, but nevertheless individuals, and the apparent struggle and effort made not to be forgotten by the living.

If it was important to people on many levels of Roman society and in many regions of the western empire that their memory be preserved for future generations through the commissioning, carving, and erection of funerary monuments with inscriptions, it should be important to us to understand what those inscriptions represented and communicated about individuals, communities, and society in the Roman past. I write this as an archaeologist who has observed that funerary epitaphs are often marginalized in archaeology. Even in the most comprehensive overview of the archaeological evidence for burial sites in the Roman empire, Jocelyn Toynbee's *Death and Burial in the Roman World* published in 1971, there is little coverage of inscriptions. More recent British archaeological studies on death and burial concentrate on bodies, grave goods, and cemeteries, with little or no attention paid to the texts inscribed on tombs.⁷⁰ In his stimulating *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Ian Morris devotes a chapter to inscribed tombstones in which he discusses their demographic value, the relationship between commemorator and commemorated, and the affordability of tombstones, but he does not reproduce the text of a single epitaph, so that his remarks are disembodied from the actual inscriptions. Two recent exceptions to the apparent reluctance of archaeologists to 'tackle' Roman funerary texts are the work of Valerie Hope (2001) on the use of funerary monuments in constructing identity in Aquileia, Mainz, and Nîmes, and Graham Oliver's edited papers (2000) on *The Epigraphy of Death*, although the latter deals more extensively with Greek funerary inscriptions. Also exceptional is the recent monograph on epitaphs in Gaul and Spain between AD 300 and 750 by Mark Handley (2003) who admirably demonstrates the value of this large body of written evidence on death, society, and culture.

The last fifteen years have witnessed several studies published by continental scholars on many facets of Roman funerary practices, although none of them has placed special emphasis on the texts on tombs. Hinard's edited

⁷⁰ See e.g. Reece 1977; Pearce *et al.* 2000.

compilation *La Mort, les morts et l'au-delà* (1987) is heavily biased towards the ideological, legal, and religious aspects of death in the Roman world. The same scholar's edited volume on *La Mort au quotidien dans le monde romain* (1995) explores an interesting mixture of literary and epigraphic sources on attitudes towards and the treatment of the body, on funerary law, and on undertakers, among other things. Archaeological, anthropological, and historical aspects of Roman burial are explored in *Römische Gräberstraßen*, edited by Von Hesberg and Zanker (1987), and in the more comprehensive *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und Beigabensitten*, edited by Heinzelmann *et al.* (2001). Both are largely devoted to discussions of cemetery excavations in Rome and other parts of Italy, with contributions on sites in North Africa and the northern European provinces, and both have a couple of chapters on funerary epigraphy.

If funerary inscriptions do not appear to be of especial interest to archaeologists, they are even less so to historians of ancient art, unless there is a portrait bust or a relief scene on them that allow the stones to be classed as 'art'.⁷¹ The many funerary memorials that have 'only' an inscription are disregarded. Taking this approach would mean ignoring almost all of the funerary monuments of Roman Lyon which are characteristic for their 'wordiness' and almost carpet-like covering of the funerary altars and *stelae* with inscribed text, in itself a status symbol designed to convey the literate abilities of the deceased and the wealth available in order to afford the extensive services of a letter-cutter (see Appendix, Nos. 9, 13; Fig. 9). Even if funerary monuments with images of 'artistic interest' are included in art historical (and often in archaeological) publications, they are reproduced photographically as 'eye candy', only to illustrate a particular point or make the printed text look more appealing.

Instead, epitaphs are generally the preserve of epigraphists and ancient historians. They are published primarily in late nineteenth-century *corpora* of Latin inscriptions, mainly the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), and in the selection of inscriptions in four volumes by Hermann Dessau entitled *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (*ILS*). There are more recent regional compilations of inscriptions, such as *Inscriptiones Italiae*, *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules*, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, and *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*. Since the early 1980s supplements to *CIL*, incorporating new inscriptions and new readings of old ones from individual cities and territories in Italy and Spain, have appeared (e.g. *Supplementa Italica*, Nuova Serie; *CIL* II²/5, II²/7, and II²/14). Other *corpora* not connected with *CIL* are devoted to particular

⁷¹ Koortbojian 1996 e.g. concentrates on those tombs that have not just text, but also images on them.



Figure 9. Funerary altar and lengthy inscription commemorating a Carthaginian glass-maker and his family in Lyon, 3rd century AD. Musée gallo-romain de Lyon-Fourvière

towns, such as Aquileia (*Inscriptiones Aquileiae*) and Portus (*Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie*). Inscriptions also appear irregularly (as they are found) as brief entries in specialist journals in various European countries and modern languages. These include *Année Epigraphique*, *Epigraphische Studien*, *Hispania Epigraphica*, and *Epigraphica*.

Ian Morris characterized those who could use the *corpora* as members of a 'secret club', criticizing the standard presentation of inscriptions 'as serried ranks of repetitive entries in yellowing tomes known to initiates by obscure acronyms like *ICUR* or *IG II/III*'⁷². His point is a valid one. Epigraphists translate, reconstruct, and re-edit the inscriptions with an eye towards analysing script style, exposing spelling mistakes, solving puzzling abbreviations, and correcting earlier readings of the texts. Although John Bodel (2001) and Alison Cooley (2002) have succeeded in demonstrating to a wider readership that inscriptions make a significant contribution to ancient history and social

⁷² Morris 1992: 156.

studies, the target audience of most epigraphic treatises is largely fellow epigraphists. Even so, there is unlikely to be any epigraphist today who would agree with John Sandys who wrote in 1927 that epigraphy ‘is *even apt to concern itself with the subject-matter* of ancient inscriptions, thus *unduly encroaching* on the provinces of history, and of public and private antiquities’ (my italics).⁷³

Studies by ancient historians, such as those edited by John Humphrey (1991) and Alan Bowman and Greg Woolf (1994), have examined writing in books and on papyrus documents, ostraca, and wooden tablets to explore literacy, the role of texts, and the power of writing in the Roman world. When ancient historians study texts inscribed in stone, and particularly funerary inscriptions, however, they often do so for the primary purpose of extracting quantifiable data and statistics on specific topics such as demography. Most of these studies are severely Rome-biased. Whilst *corpora* of inscriptions are important data banks and statistical analyses attempt to structure some of the data, they do not necessarily make the monuments more accessible to archaeologists. There is something quite ‘de-humanising’ in cold, hard data on age at death and life expectancy, especially if individual human lives are represented as numbers in tables and graphs. The demographic value of data in funerary inscriptions has anyway come under justified attack.⁷⁴ Nor can statistics adequately illuminate the personal nature of the information on life and its vagaries in the inscribed texts. And many vagaries, trials, and tribulations there were. To cite just one sorry tale, this might include having been ‘captured when a youth and sold into slavery in Roman territory’, as revealed in a remarkable epitaph of a Parthian man from the lands between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers who died in Ravenna in Italy after having gained Roman citizenship.⁷⁵

Death in the Roman world is therefore divided up into various (modern) specialist compartments. Some archaeologists argue that written records are not ‘objective’ or unbiased accounts, whereas archaeological artefacts give a ‘truer’ picture of daily life in antiquity. This is the old ‘history versus archaeology’ or ‘text versus artefact’ debate, discussed by John Moreland who criticizes those archaeologists who try to locate ‘so-called “text-free” zones in pursuit of “objectivity”’.⁷⁶ In this context, Richard Reece’s claim stands out that ‘inscriptions, being written sources, obviously belong to history and not to archaeology, which is the attempt to make sense of the uninscribed rubbish left by the past’.⁷⁷ This, I think, is fundamentally wrong. It is the archaeologist

⁷³ Sandys 1927: 1.

⁷⁵ *CIL* XI. 137/*ILS* 1980.

⁷⁷ Reece 1992: 137.

⁷⁴ Hopkins 1966 and 1987; Parkin 1992: 17–19.

⁷⁶ Moreland 2001: 31. See also Tarlow 1999: 3–5.

who excavates buried inscriptions along with other ‘rubbish left by the past’. I cannot think of an archaeologist who would not consider it part of his or her job to record and analyse the architecture and structure of a tomb, as well as the burials and grave goods in it, so why should the inscription that was an essential part of the funerary ‘package’ be left out of the archaeological equation? Surely Jonathan Edmondson is right in asserting that inscriptions are ‘valuable *archaeological* data as monuments that once stood in a very real physical context in their own right’ (my italics).⁷⁸ The funerary inscriptions under discussion here are both text *and* archaeological artefact, and neither of them is or can be completely or mutually exclusively objective.

Perhaps, with Orser and Fagan, we should think of the use of inscriptions that shed light on human life and actions as ‘text-aided archaeology’.⁷⁹ Two examples can illustrate this point. If we only had the excavated cremation burial of a man in first-century Narbonne we would be able to say something about the cremation itself, the orientation of the grave pit, the type of grave goods associated with the burial, and the relationship of this burial to others in the cemetery. But without the gravestone and its epitaph how could we possibly know that here lay a freedman by the name of Gaius Ofillius Aphrodisius, or that he had been beaten and badly treated by his former master, and that he bought his freedom from his meagre savings?⁸⁰ By the same token, a late first-century cremation burial in Lyon is clearly that of a young girl, easily recognizable by the accompanying grave goods given to women who died young and unmarried. We even know what she looked like from the remarkable cast of her death mask found in her grave (see Fig. 13). Masks and ancestor portraits are generally assumed to have been a feature only of aristocratic society, as we shall see in Chapter 2. But the inscribed gravestone found with the burial tells us not only the name of the girl (Claudia Victoria) and how old she was (ten years, one month and eleven days) (Fig. 10).⁸¹ It also reveals that she probably was an illegitimate child and the offspring of a family that was not particularly prominent. She certainly was not an aristocrat. These are just two examples of the kind of information that funerary inscriptions can give us and how they, in tandem with other artefacts and materials, can shed light on life, death, and society. Many more are discussed in the following chapters.

Funerary inscriptions were commissioned, carved, and put into place immediately or not long after the death, funeral, and burial of countless

⁷⁸ Edmondson 1999: 652.

⁷⁹ Orser and Fagan 1995: 5.

⁸⁰ *CIL* XII. 5026.

⁸¹ Audin 1986: 85–6, pl. XIII; Lasfargues 2000: 90–1. On *mors immatura*, and grave goods that suggest a premature death, see Martin-Kilcher 2000.



Figure 10. Funerary altar of the young Claudia Victoria in Lyon, late 1st century AD. Musée gallo-romain de Lyon-Fourvière

individuals ranging from a slave of the emperor to the emperor himself. The commemorative monuments were part of the funerary ritual between the burial and the recurring commemorative feasts and festivals celebrated at the graveside long after death. In fact, a part of the funeral itself, the publicly delivered eulogy (*laudatio funebris*), sometimes appears in inscribed texts on the tomb to symbolically extend the funeral in time and to allow the eulogy to be recalled long after the spoken words had been forgotten.⁸² Unlike the accounts by Roman historians of ‘important’ people and ‘big’ events, funerary inscriptions really do give us insight into the lives and deaths of people from many walks of life. Giancarlo Susini rightly characterized the Roman use of funerary inscriptions as a ‘conscious historiography of individuals whom we can come to know only because they took the trouble of establishing a dialogue with their own society’.⁸³

⁸² CIL VI. 10230/ILS 8394 (*Laudatio Murtidae*); CIL VI. 41062/Friggeri 2001: 64–6 (*Laudatio Turiae*); CIL VI. 37965/Gordon 1983: 145–8/Friggeri 2001: 168–9 (*laudatio* of Allia Potestas). On published *laudationes* in Roman literary sources, see Flower 1996: 145–50.

⁸³ Susini 1973: 64–5.

Commemorative practices employing a permanent memorial also tell us something about the emotional life of the survivors of the dead. Although we cannot truly gauge the emotional and mental distress of people who lost loved ones, the fact that the family went to the expense and effort to buy and set up a memorial indicates that death occasioned feelings, even if the epitaph on the memorial often appears formulaic. Sarah Tarlow has explained the 'boom' in the use of gravestones that mark the burial places of the dead in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century on Orkney as 'a public expression of deep, personal feelings', rather than simply a matter of demography, spending power, or social emulation.⁸⁴ Can this be said for Roman grave-stones? Apart from the obvious purpose of visibly marking the burial site and placing it under legal and religious protection, valid reasons for setting up a permanent stone memorial in the Roman period were 'fitting in' with one's social equals, claiming and maintaining social respectability, and displaying identity on many levels, and there were many others. One of those other reasons, made clear by numerous inscriptions, was certainly the public expression of love, grief, and emotional bonds, and the commemoration of a relationship between individuals. The 'dialogue' with society that Susini highlighted extends to the public declaration of emotions. Following a written characterization of a dead woman in third-century Rome, the epitaph commissioned by her husband ends with just such a declaration: 'She lived every day of her life with me with the greatest kindness and the greatest simplicity, both in her conjugal love and the industry typical of her character. I added this so that those who read may understand how much we loved one another.'⁸⁵

Although some funerary inscriptions are still in their intended position on tombs and they continue to be excavated in their primary contexts, very many of them must be viewed today divorced from their original setting, either reused as building material in later city walls or buildings, or arranged in the indoor rooms or outdoor gardens of museum collections throughout Europe. Apart from the information that is so often lost on the relationship between the burial and the epitaph, problems arise with the dating of inscriptions. We are lucky if a consular date or several consular dates at crucial points in someone's career were given in the inscription. A centurion in Geneva in Switzerland, for example, had his epitaph worded to highlight seven consular dates between AD 73 and 90, each date referring to a new post or promotion he acquired.⁸⁶ We are also fortunate if a particular historical event is recorded

⁸⁴ Tarlow 1999: 131.

⁸⁵ *CIL* VI. 29580/*ILS* 8450. For an analysis of emotions aroused by death, see Hopkins 1983: 217–26.

⁸⁶ *CIL* XII. 2602/*ILS* 2118. Other consular dates: *CIL* VI. 7303/*ILS* 7863; *CIL* VI. 9326/*ILS* 7864.

in an epitaph that allows us to narrow down the time span in which the text was carved. Marcus Caelius, a centurion of the eighteenth legion, for example, died, along with thousands of other Roman soldiers, in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest in Germany in AD 9, so the monument from his brother to him in Xanten on the Rhine (where his legion had been stationed before the disaster) must have been set up relatively soon thereafter (Fig. 49).⁸⁷ The epitaph of Tiberius Claudius Maximus highlights his part in the capture of the Dacian king Decebalus and his presentation of the king's head to the emperor during Trajan's second Dacian war on the Danube in 105/6, and this gives us a *terminus post quem* for Maximus' gravestone from Philipppi in Macedonia.⁸⁸ There may be other circumstantial evidence that allows chronological parameters for inscriptions to be determined, but generally they can be dated, sometimes more precisely than others, on the basis of the form and execution of the monument on which the inscription is carved, the type of stone used, on the formation of personal names, on opening or closing invocations characteristic at certain times, and on palaeographic details.⁸⁹ But even if there is not always the kind of precision in dating we would like, general chronological trends in funerary commemoration are still possible to recognize and the importance of these inscriptions is undiminished.

This book is about inscriptions, but it is first and foremost about the essential contribution this vast and important body of material makes towards understanding life, death, and human relations in the Roman world. It brings together a large body of material from disparate geographical areas, and is thus able to shed light on the many differing forms of funerary commemoration. To compensate for the disjointed nature of the published material, the Rome-centric view of most epigraphic studies, and the lack of comprehensive examinations of funerary inscriptions, the bulk of the epigraphic and archaeological material analysed here comes from western Europe: from France, Germany, the Low Countries, Britain, and Spain, although many epitaphs from Rome and other Italian cities are naturally discussed at length. Western Europe, although never a homogeneous 'block' of peoples, represented a vast region to which Latin was introduced as the language of the empire, and at least from the later third century AD this Latinized half of the Roman empire was ruled by one of two emperors (the other one being responsible for the Greek East). This does not mean that all funerary inscriptions in western Europe are in Latin; in Italy, southern Gaul, and Spain, for

⁸⁷ *CIL* XIII. 8648/*ILS* 2244/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 6581.

⁸⁸ *AE* 1969–70: 583; Corbier 1999: 128–36.

⁸⁹ Huttunen 1974: 25–7; Knapp 1984: 339–84; Keppie 1991: 25–9; Stylow 1995; Faust 1998: 3–26. For inscriptions from the city of Rome that are dated on a variety of grounds, see Gordon 1958–65.

example, epigraphic texts on tombs can be written in Greek, but the quantity of them is nothing like that apparent in Greece and Asia where, even in the Roman period, Greek was the primary language spoken and written. These Greek inscriptions are outside the remit of this study. By looking at the entirety of the Latin West, both regional and highly localized patterns in funerary commemoration can be recognized; we gain a more nuanced picture of the spread of the Roman custom of funerary commemoration in monumental writing; and we are better able to judge the broad impact of Roman funerary practices on indigenous peoples and cultures. The inscriptions considered here primarily span the period from the late second century BC to the fifth century AD. Wherever possible I have endeavoured to put these texts into the physical and ideological context in which they originally appeared so that the inscriptions are not viewed in isolation from the tombs, cemeteries, and communities as their proper environment.

Furthermore this study on Roman epitaphs aims to span the gap between archaeological and epigraphic approaches to funerary practices and thus enable personal narratives to be told by exploring a variety of themes. These include, among other things: the procedures and choices in setting up monuments; the importance of advertising careers, honours, and status, and the methods chosen to do so; the impact of marriage, divorce, and remarriage on society and the family; attitudes towards slaves and slavery; manumission and changing relationships between masters and servants; the varying responses to the death of children and the elderly; the transport of human remains and the commemoration of a loved one *in absentia*; and the differences between the pagan and the Christian view of earthly life. Funerary commemoration also is linked intimately to the expression of identity, in fact many different facets of identity. Because the place of birth was an important part of one's identity, the regular inclusion of the place of origin in epitaphs also allows us here to recognize a great degree of physical mobility in the Roman world, for civilians as well as soldiers, although the texts are often silent on the reasons for the relocation of people. And because chances existed for many to exchange one social role for another within a fluid society, social mobility resulted in a desire to advertise the successful achievement of a better existence and the adoption of a new identity in inscribed texts. Funerary inscriptions, because they commemorate both physical and social mobility, are extremely useful in mapping changes in human lives.

I have personally inspected, recorded, and photographed thousands upon thousands of epitaphs. Personal inspection of the monuments was essential for several reasons. For one thing, modern transcribed versions of the original texts often omit important details that have been altered, erased, or left unfinished in antiquity. Furthermore, information on the material, dimensions, and

condition of the monuments is frequently omitted in the older *corpora*. The first-hand examination of gravestones and their inscribed texts revealed varying degrees of competence on the part of the stonemason. Names of individuals who died after the stone had been erected also were often added in different hands. These observations are relevant to the issues of workshop production, to alterations *in situ* in the cemetery, and to the later, and perhaps unplanned, inclusion of other individuals in the tomb. Some examined stones have had parts of their text erased in antiquity, shedding light on changing personal relationships. This is particularly clear on stones on which the name of the spouse has been erased and replaced with the name of a second partner, or where the portrait and name of a spouse has been chiselled away, eradicating the memory of that individual.

The 'silent' testimonies to the lives and deaths of people in the Roman world—be it the baker, the midwife, the magistrate, or the centurion—moved and touched me throughout the duration of this project. Some of the sentiments, aspirations, and stories in the epitaphs seemed quite familiar in the twenty-first century, others were completely foreign. It is hoped that the often very personal nature of the inscriptions of these individuals emerges clearly in my presentation and discussion of them, and that through their choice of written words the Roman dead will have allowed us to learn something about them that we would never have managed to accomplish without their help.

Memory and Commemoration

To the spirits of the dead, and of Staberia Gemella. Titus Staberius Eucharus did this for his most excellent and deserving wife, for the sake of memory.

(Funerary inscription from Rome: CIL VI. 26726)

WAYS OF REMEMBERING

The funerary monument, according to Roman legal sources, was designed to preserve memory (*monumentum est, quod memoriae servandae gratia existat*).¹ It also acted as a visual indicator of the status of a person and of the splendour and antiquity of that person's family.² The form and size of the monument itself, and the written text on it, made it possible to display and negotiate status, belonging, and social relations in the community. But was a permanent stone monument the only way to preserve the memory of an individual? Cicero, in his speech honouring Servius Sulpicius Rufus, claimed that, although memorials and commemorative statues preserved memory, one's accomplishments could also 'be a memorial to a life of enduring renown'.³ Great deeds, rank, and accomplishments were something to be 'handed on as a memorial to succeeding generations'.⁴ Tacitus has the emperor Tiberius say that he did not value temples and statues in his honour, rather he wanted later generations to remember his actions in the public service.⁵ It was commonly held that the memory 'and the glory of the ancestors' should instil in succeeding generations 'an ardent desire for moral excellence'.⁶ For Pliny the Younger, virtue and glorious conduct was a

¹ Ulpian, *Digest* 11. 7. 2. 6.

² Suetonius, *Vespasian* 1.

³ *Philippics* 9. 5. 11.

⁴ Cicero, *For Rabirius Postumus* 16–17.

⁵ *Annals* 4. 38.

⁶ Sallust, *Jugurthine War* 85. 21–5, 4. 5–6. The glory could not only be passed on to later generations, but also be reflected back by descendants on their ancestors. Thus the epitaph on

guarantee for fame that would 'be spread farther by the recollection and the tongues of men'.⁷ But lasting fame of this kind appears to have been achieved only by those of elevated social status, if we believe Pliny in a letter to Macer.⁸ Whilst sailing on Lake Como, Pliny learned of a brave local woman who had committed suicide with her husband because he was incurably ill. He concluded that this admirable deed remained unknown until then because the woman was not of noble birth, the fame of human actions being dependent 'upon the station of those who perform them'.

The recitation and celebration of noble deeds, particularly those of the leading members of Roman society, might be one way to remain in the public memory. Leaving behind a life's work that was admired by many could be another type of legacy. The poet Horace thought that his poetry, 'a monument more lasting than bronze', would secure his eternal fame. Because neither rain, wind, nor the passing of time could efface his literary legacy, he was comforted that, in his own words, 'I shall not perish utterly, and a great part of myself will escape the grave'.⁹ Similar sentiments were expressed by Propertius, a contemporary of Horace: '(T)he fame my genius has won shall not perish with time'.¹⁰ Ovid waxed poetic about the immortality of the works of Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus, Varro, and Lucretius, among others: 'Statues and tombs with age consume and die, 'tis verse alone has immortality'.¹¹ Pliny the Younger remarked that there could be no greater honour for a poet than 'fame, and applause, and immortality' achieved through his work.¹²

Nevertheless, some of these poets were greatly concerned with permanent stone memorials. The literary works they left behind would go some way towards preserving their memory, but the inscribed words on their grave-stones were clearly viewed as a mnemonic aid for future generations. Three early Roman poets of the late third and second centuries BC, Naevius, Plautus, and Pacuvius, composed or were said to have composed their own epitaphs, although really only that of Pacuvius, who died around 130 BC, resembles contemporary epitaphs carved in stone (see Chapter 4).¹³ Propertius referred to his funerary monument inscribed with 'a brief name on a tiny marble slab',

the sarcophagus of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Hispanus (died after 139 BC) in the family tomb on the Via Appia in Rome says: 'I have added to the noble deeds of my clan... my honour has made my family noble' (*CIL* I². 15 = *CIL* VI. 1293/*ILS* 6).

⁷ *Letters* 2. 1. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.* 6. 24. 5.

⁹ *Odes* 3. 30. 1–9.

¹⁰ *Elegies* 3. 2. 25–6, and 3. 1. 22–4.

¹¹ *Amores* 1. 15. 46–7.

¹² *Letters* 3. 21. 6; also *ibid.* 3. 7. 15.

¹³ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1. 24. 2–4 (reproduced in Sandys 1927: 14). See also Tibullus, *Elegies* 1. 3. 55, for his epitaph in a poem of the late 1st cent. BC.

and he asked that a line or two of text be added about his character and his love for a woman.¹⁴ He was hopeful that after his death ‘not neglected shall be the grave where the tombstone marks my bones’.¹⁵ Some of these epitaphs preserved in the literary sources, like that composed by Ovid for the favourite parrot of his mistress Corinna, may only be imaginary ones, but the vast number of actual sepulchral monuments bearing inscriptions is indeed a good indication of the importance Romans throughout the empire attached to being remembered in this way.¹⁶ Pliny the Younger knew that Verginius Rufus, his ‘hero’ who put down the revolt of Vindex in AD 68, would be famous for his deeds. Nevertheless he held that ‘everyone who has done some great and memorable deed should . . . not only be excused but even praised if he wishes to ensure the immortality he has earned, and by the very words of his epitaph seeks to perpetuate the undying glory of his name’.¹⁷ By beholding the tomb and reading its accompanying text, even strangers would be able to leave the grave site with at least a brief impression of the person whose body or ashes lay buried there. The frequent visits of Atticus in the first century BC to the tombs of Athens’ long dead ‘peerless men’ or of Silius Italicus to Virgil’s tomb in the late first century AD suggest that the burial places of famous individuals might be somewhere where memories could be recalled that served as a source of inspiration decades or even centuries later.¹⁸

MEMORY AND THE FAMILY

Affectionate memories of the family and of the family’s ancestors could be conjured up in certain locations and environments. Cicero, on a visit in 46 BC to his ancestral home in Arpinum in central Italy, remarked that there were many traces of his forefathers preserved in the surrounding landscape, and for this reason ‘the place abides in [his] mind and heart’.¹⁹ For the Roman family, a prime location in which memory was perpetuated was the cemetery. Here the stone monument was a physical and visible transmitter of memory. It is in commemorative epitaphs of the immediate family that the closest emotional bonds are expressed. The epitaph in Rome commissioned by Marcus Aemilius Ianuarius for his wife of thirteen years says that, although there is no such thing as immortality, she will always live for him.²⁰ Another inscription of the second century AD in Rome celebrates the life of the freedwoman Allia Potestas.²¹ The

¹⁴ *Elegies* 2. 1. 71.

¹⁷ *Letters* 9. 19. 3.

²⁰ *CIL* VI. 11082.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 3. 1. 37–8, 2. 13. 31–6.

¹⁸ Cicero, *Laws* 2. 2. 4; Pliny, *Letters* 3. 7. 8.

²¹ *CIL* VI. 37965/Gordon 1983: 145–8/Friggeri 2001: 168–9.

¹⁶ *Amores* 2. 6. 61–6.

¹⁹ *Laws* 2. 1. 3.

inscription appears to have been set up by Allia's patron, whose common-law wife or concubine she was, and it reveals that this man attempted to preserve her memory in more than one way. For one thing, he wore a bracelet inscribed with her name, but this gave him little comfort. He also wanted Allia's portrait to be placed in his tomb. But it is the funerary inscription itself that he regarded as the best way to perpetuate her memory. The epitaph declares that as long as the verses on the stone survive she will live on (*quantumcumque tamen praeconia nostra valebunt, versiculis vives quamdiucumque meis*).

The naming of the deceased in an epitaph, as well as the dedicator, be it mother, father, husband, wife, child, or other family members, commemorated not only the dead, but also the relationship that was publicly acknowledged in the inscription. But the preservation of memory was important for a wider group in society than just the family. The dead might be commemorated by friends, heirs, or patrons, and the reference to these relationships, as well as to tribal and civic affiliations, military rank, honours, or personal traits in the epitaph, embedded the deceased in a well-defined social and cultural context. In many, but not all, cases, the naming of the dedicator is related to the legal obligations of the heir to bury the benefactor.²²

A few examples can help to illustrate these embedded relationships and how personal chronologies were preserved in memory. The brief inscription on the monumental tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia outside Rome tells us that the dead woman was the daughter of Quintus (Caecilius Metellus) Creticus and that she was the wife of (Marcus) Crassus (Fig. 11).²³ It is therefore apparent what family she came from and which one she married into in the first century BC. Three generations are recorded on an epitaph from Tomb 75 in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus. On this stone of the mid-second century AD, Marcus Antonius Callistianus recorded that he was the son of Marcus and the grandson of Cocceia Doris.²⁴ A family grouping of the mother, father, brothers, and grandsons of Novellia Paterna is brought together in the text of an epitaph from Apt in southern Gaul.²⁵ The network of family relationships on these epitaphs can be complex, but the family chronology very rarely exceeds three generations. One of these rare cases is a Treveran family from the region of the Moselle valley in Germany commemorated on a gravestone in Cologne in the mid-first century AD.²⁶ In the epitaph, a man of the Treveri tribe whose name is only fragmentarily preserved, but who is said to be the son of Glannio, is commemorated along with

²² Meyer 1990; Woolf 1996.

²³ *CIL* VI. 1274; Eisner 1986: 36–41, pls. 9–10.

²⁴ Thylander 1952: A84.

²⁵ *CIL* XII. 1133.

²⁶ *AE* 1974: 463/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 311/Krier 1981: 38/Wierschowski 2001: no. 21.



Figure 11. Circular drum-tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia outside Rome, late 1st century BC

this wife, three of their children and three of their grandchildren, giving us the names of four generations of this family. Another lengthy line of five succeeding generations is recorded in a funerary inscription from Piacenza in northern Italy commemorating Atilia Posilla, her great-grandson and great-great-grandson.²⁷

Nevertheless, this is only the *recorded* chronology, and we must assume that for some families, particularly the wealthy and powerful senatorial families who stressed their ancestry and nobility, the name in the epitaph conjured up in the mind of the readers a much longer lineage which they knew or had heard of. On the epitaph of Caecilia Metella no further text was necessary to explain who these families were because they were influential, aristocratic families well-known to all in Rome. Furthermore, the depiction of barbarian shields in the frieze at the top of her tomb may refer to the conquests of Marcus Licinius Crassus in 29 or 28 BC in Germany, Dacia, and Moesia, so that images of the family's achievements supplemented the very brief text of the inscription. The family history, in fact, was a public matter. Polybius describes how, at the death of a leading man, a speech (*laudatio funebris*)

²⁷ CIL XI. 1224; Gallivan and Wilkins 1997: 251. Absolutely singular is the Greek funerary inscription of AD 210 in Oenandis commemorating a Licinnia Flavilla that traces her genealogy back over twelve generations: IGRR 3. 500 (discussed by Bodel 2001: 14).

about the virtues of the dead man and his achievements was delivered in the forum in Rome. 'As a result of this the people remember what happened and picture it before their eyes, not only those who shared in the deeds, but also those who did not.'²⁸ Here we have the spoken word used as a mnemonic device. The spectacle included the parading of actors wearing masks fashioned in the likeness of the family's great men, including those who had been long dead. In this way, 'the renown of those who did some noble deed is immortal and the glory of those who rendered service to their country becomes well-known to many'.²⁹ Through such archaic rituals, the individuals representing the ancestors 'became' the ancestors portrayed by the masks. As Connerton in his discussion of such rituals in some modern native American and African societies demonstrates, the dead can reappear from the other world into the world of the living 'provided one knows how to recall them'.³⁰ Recalling them involved visual, gestural, and verbal repetition.

Such wealthy and noble families in Rome and Italy were also responsible for many public donations, and their names appeared not only on their tombs, but also repeatedly for generations in inscriptions on public buildings and honorific statues. The city and, in particular, the forum was the real arena of social competition and competitive display. The elder Pliny mentioned monumental inscriptions as 'giving a longer life to men's name and memory'.³¹ He also observed that 'statues began to adorn the fora of every municipality; the memory of men was immortalized, and their honours were no longer engraved on their tombstones alone, but were handed down for posterity to read on the pedestals of their statues'.³² Pliny the Younger praised his wife's grandfather, Calpurnius Fabatus, for having 'dedicated a noble public portico as a memorial' of himself and his son, Pliny's father-in-law.³³ He was pleased to see the memory of his father-in-law 'delivered down to posterity by such beautiful structures', no doubt with a monumental inscription, but he also thought that this glory would in some way rub off on himself. This was clearly part of the motivation behind Titinius Capito's erection of a statue of Lucius Silanus in Rome, an act by which Capito 'won immortality for himself as well, for to erect a statue in the forum of Rome is as great an honour as having one's own statue there'.³⁴ The same attempt to perpetuate memory through public benefaction is apparent in the efforts of

²⁸ Polybius 6. 53–4. On ancestral masks and ancestors at the funeral, see Flower 1996: 91–114.

²⁹ Polybius 6. 53–4; see also Diodorus 31. 25. 2; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 19. 2.

³⁰ Connerton 1989: 69.

³¹ *Natural History* 2. 154.

³² *Ibid.* 34. 17.

³³ *Letters* 5. 11. 1–2.

³⁴ Pliny, *Letters* 1. 17. 4.

the aristocratic families in any of the provincial cities. The names of two leading families in Avenches in Switzerland, the Camilli and Macri, for example, appeared in numerous public inscriptions in public spaces in the city.³⁵ The three provinces (*Tres Galliae*) of Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, and the city of Lyon at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône rivers put up three statues of the Sequanian Quintus Iulius Severinus, a magistrate, patron of the Rhône and Saône shippers, and Inquisitor of the Gauls, in Lyon in the second or third century AD.³⁶ An honorific dedication to Aulus Annius Camars, an illustrious official and sponsor of circus games in Arles on the lower Rhône in the first century AD, tells us that statues were erected to him and his son in gratitude for his generosity to the city. The intention of the dedication is very clear in the closing lines of the inscription: 'This monument was erected to perpetuate his memory' (*ad memoriae aeternitatem monumentum extruxit*).³⁷

The preservation of memory, and indeed the physical appearance, of the deceased could be secured by commissioning a permanent memorial bearing a likeness of one or more individuals. This might include portraits (*imagines*) of family members who had died several years or even generations before. The family tomb of the Licinii Crassi and Calpurnii near the Porta Salaria in Rome, for example, represented a sort of ancestor gallery adorned with thirteen marble portrait busts and statues of the men and women of the family. Although the tomb was built around AD 40, the gallery included some portraits of individuals who had died a century earlier. This would have been an important public gesture to stress the family's links with their Republican ancestors and to restore their reputation after Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso had been condemned in AD 20 for treason.³⁸ Less illustrious families also made use of ancestor portraits commissioned for the cemetery. A statue of the early first century AD in the Capitoline collections in Rome known as the 'togatus Barberini', for example, depicts a local magistrate with an ancestor bust in each hand.³⁹ Even an emperor, if not from a particularly distinguished family, was not above going to some length to multiply the number of ancestor images needed to define his status and authority in society. Thus Augustus, from an equestrian, not a senatorial, family (until he was adopted by Iulius

³⁵ Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996.

³⁶ *CIL* XIII. 1695/Wierschowski 2001: no. 424. The inscription and the man's career are discussed by Woolf 1998: 78–9.

³⁷ *CIL* XII. 670; Sintès 1996: cat. no. 32.

³⁸ Boschung 1986; *Kaiser Augustus*, 316–23, cat. nos. 154–66; Flower 1996: 257–9. On the tomb of the Scipiones in the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC on the ancient Via Appia in Rome, in which ancestral portraits and statues of the family were kept, see Flower 1996: 160–80. On the punishment of Piso, see Potter 1998; Bodel 1999.

³⁹ *Kaiser Augustus*, cat. no. 192; Ramage and Ramage 2000: 77–8, fig. 2. 31.

Caesar), was lacking in family *imagines*. To compensate for this, to be able to compete with the heritage of Rome's leading families, and to publicly give form to his position as the leading citizen of Rome, Augustus in 2 BC adorned his new forum with statues of famous ancestors of the traditional ruling elite families, and with statues of some of his own family. In his edict of the same date, he said 'that the citizens should hold these men up as a standard of behaviour both for himself, while he was alive, and for emperors in future ages to live up to', although Augustus clearly felt that he overshadowed all Roman heroes of the past.⁴⁰

The proliferation of images of the dead did not always meet with approval. Pliny the Younger condemned the public display of grief made by the senator Marcus Aquilius Regulus upon the death of his son, and he particularly found the commissioning of numerous statues and portraits of the boy tasteless.⁴¹ Of course, Pliny disliked the opportunistic Regulus and found fault with him on every level, and he had no problem with the practice of erecting statues of those he thought deserved them. Such was his attitude towards a statue of the young and virtuous Cottius, deceased son of the victorious general and war hero Vestricius Spurinna, and he looked forward to being able to 'contemplate his statue from time to time', taking 'consolation in sorrow' from such images.⁴²

Those who could not afford a three-dimensional portrait bust might choose to have one carved in relief on an individual tombstone. Many funerary portraits throughout the empire are somewhat stylized, and some, like those from Ávila in Spain, are really nothing more than a very rough and naïve rendering of a human head (Fig. 12).⁴³ Nevertheless, from the second half of the second century BC there are likenesses of the deceased that realistically depict facial features. This may be a result of the practice of taking a cast of the living subject's face to fashion a wax mask that was kept at home in the atrium and, as Polybius and other Roman authors tell us, displayed in funeral processions.⁴⁴ Pliny the Elder refers to these as 'faces pressed in wax' (*expressi cera vultus*).⁴⁵ This practice, although very popular from the third century BC amongst the leading aristocratic families who competed with each other in status display, was not entirely limited to this sector of society.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Suetonius, *Augustus* 31. 5. On the Forum of Augustus and the *imagines*, see Flower 1996: 223–36.

⁴¹ *Letters* 4. 7. 2.

⁴² *Ibid.* 2. 7. 6–7.

⁴³ Knapp 1992: nos. 9, 16, 26, 31, 38.

⁴⁴ Flower 1996.

⁴⁵ *Natural History* 35. 6.

⁴⁶ Hopkins 1983: 255.



Figure 12. Stylized 'portrait' *stèle* of Monova from Ávila in Spain, mid-2nd to mid-3rd century AD

Multiple copies were often made from existing wax masks, especially since family members leaving the paternal home went with a set of ancestor masks. In the technical details of producing such copies by taking new casts of masks there may be a connection between wax masks and the making of bronze and marble portraits.⁴⁷

Flower contends that these 'faces pressed in wax' were not death masks, but were made during the subject's lifetime.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, there are indications that true death masks were indeed made. Death might have come early or unexpectedly for some, forcing the survivors to have a mould made after the subject had died. Excavations in 1874 in Lyon uncovered not only the grave of the 10-year-old Claudia Victoria and her inscribed tombstone, but also a mould of her face. Judging by the gaunt facial features and sunken eyes, the mould clearly was taken after she had died, and then deposited in the grave (Fig. 13).⁴⁹ Presumably a wax mask had been made from this mould before it was put in the grave and out of reach forever; from the wax mask a portrait in more durable material could have been made. Quite clearly the family of the girl desired a lasting image of her so that the memory of her physical appearance could be preserved in private within the family home or in public on the family burial plot. The girl was not the offspring of a leading family in society, unlike those described by Polybius. The plaster cast in Lyon is very

⁴⁷ McDonnell 1999: 548.

⁴⁸ Flower 1996: 38.

⁴⁹ Audin 1986: 85–6, pl. XIII; Lasfargues 2000: 90–1.



Figure 13. Plaster cast of the death mask of Claudia Victoria found in her grave in Lyon, late 1st century AD. The missing nose and forehead parts of the cast have been restored in plaster. Musée gallo-romain de Lyon-Fourvière

rare indeed, but it is not the only one of its kind. In a tomb on the east bank of the Tiber near the Monte Mario (ancient *Clivus Cinnae*) in Rome a skeleton was found, and buried with it was a plaster cast of a man's face, presumably the face of the man whose skeleton it was.⁵⁰ No information about his identity or social status survived.

Whilst the freeborn, and particularly the freeborn nobles, looked back on family history and preceding generations, freed slaves *began* their 'history' with their manumission, frequently naming their former owner in their epitaphs and embedding themselves in this social relationship and pivotal point in time which allowed them to establish a family in a respectable fashion. For slaves who could neither legally marry nor therefore have legitimate families, manumission gave them an entrance into society which could only really be improved socially by their children who, as freeborn individuals, had the possibility of contracting a legal marriage, begetting legitimate children, holding public office, and acquiring property and income which they could pass on to future generations. For this reason, it is the future and the future generations of the family line that is foremost in the epitaphs of freedmen and freedwomen. There are no portraits of ancestors because slaves, and freedmen, did not have them. Instead, the generation of men and women who had been freed to begin a legitimate family line commissioned individual free-standing gravestones or stone slabs for insertion in a communal tomb with portraits of themselves and their children. Dexheimer recently has suggested that the relief figures on funerary altars set up by freedmen in

⁵⁰ Lanciani 1892: 273.

Aquileia and elsewhere in northern Italy were, in fact, full-length portraits of the deceased that were modelled on the honorific statues of freeborn, influential citizens in the public domain.⁵¹ The public erection of honorary statues for the freedman class was extremely rare, due to their exclusion from public office, so that such funerary reliefs, actually erected before the subject of the monument had died, acted as a compensatory device to depict the freedmen as individuals in possession of Roman citizenship and as full-fledged members of society.

WILLS AND TESTAMENTS

Those with foresight, and with the financial means at their disposal, selected a monument before they died or left specifications for it in a will. The details of its appearance, including the epitaph, were determined to ensure that a specific message in a chosen package was conveyed to society. Pliny the Younger advocated 'that we should build our own monuments for ourselves and assume ourselves the duties of our heirs'.⁵² A well-known literary account reflecting this actual practice can be found in Petronius' *Satyricon*, an ironic and satirical comment on society in the 60s AD, using fictional, but recognizable characters. In it the rich freedman Trimalchio reads his will and tells his dinner guests exactly how he wants his funeral conducted and his tomb constructed.⁵³ The *Satyricon* contains insights into Trimalchio's concern to be remembered by others and to be given 'life after death' through his monument. His tomb is to be provided with a sun-dial so that, as Trimalchio says, 'anyone who looks at the time will read my name whether he likes it or not'. The epitaph Trimalchio wanted on his tomb is described in detail: 'Here lies C. Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus. He was appointed Priest of Augustus in absentia. Though he could have been an attendant upon any magistrate in Rome, he refused the honour. Pious, strong, faithful, he rose from humble beginnings to leave thirty million, and never listened to a philosopher's lectures. Farewell, Trimalchio, and you who read this.' Obviously, Trimalchio's rise up the social ladder, his achievements, and his wealth were a source of pride to him, and the epitaph was meant to advertise this.

This concern for a proper memorial, as a reflection of the 'wealth and dignity' (*substantia et dignitas*) of the deceased, is reflected in the surviving wills of the Roman period in the tombs which were built to prescribed

⁵¹ Dexheimer 2000: 82.

⁵² *Letters* 6. 10. 5.

⁵³ *Satyricon* 71.

specifications.⁵⁴ Tiberius Mainonius Victor, a meat merchant, and his wife Iulia Marina, for example, made provisions during their lifetime (*vivi sibi fecerunt*) for a gravestone for themselves and their daughter Surilla in Cologne in the second/third century AD.⁵⁵ On a much grander scale, the monumental pyramid tomb of Gaius Cestius in Rome was constructed in 330 days in the late first century BC, according to the instructions of his will which was inscribed on the tomb itself (Fig. 14).⁵⁶ Sextus Iulius Aquila, a Gallo-Roman aristocrat from the region around Langres in France, left a will specifying his monument in great detail in the second century AD.⁵⁷ A statue, at least five Roman feet tall, of the testator was to be erected, and a memorial shrine (*cella memoriae*) to him built. An image of the deceased, however idealized, is also specified in other funerary inscriptions. Claudia Semne was commemorated on the Via Appia in Rome, for example, with a tomb, a garden, and a statue of



Figure 14. Pyramid tomb of Gaius Cestius on the Via Ostiensis in Rome, late 1st century BC

⁵⁴ *Digest* 35. 127.

⁵⁵ *CIL* XIII. 8351/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 324.

⁵⁶ *CIL* VI. 1374b; Nash 1962: 321–3, figs. 1087–9; Eisner 1986: 138–41, pls. 57–8; Von Hesberg 1992: 116, fig. 66.

⁵⁷ *CIL* XIII. 5708/*ILS* 8379; Hatt 1951: 66–9; Lavagne 1987: 162–3.

her 'in the guise of a goddess' (*in formam deorum*).⁵⁸ In her last will and testament, Kareia Ingenua made provision in the mid-first century AD for the erection of a statue to her son, Aulus Pompeius Pius, who had served as a magistrate (*aedilis*) in Arles.⁵⁹ The statue stood on a base to which a bronze plaque containing this information was fixed.

Cult activities to commemorate the above-mentioned S. Iulius Aquila are prescribed in his will, and provisions were made to have his freedmen tend to his monument and observe his birthdays in perpetuity. The same concern for the perpetual observation of festivals in honour of the dead is expressed in many other wills and epitaphs around the empire. The celebration of the birthdays of the deceased and the provision of roses on those days *in perpetuo* is frequently attested.⁶⁰ Other days of remembrance were the official festival of the dead, or *Parentalia*, in February, and the feast of roses, or *Rosalia*, in May and June.⁶¹ On all these occasions, private and public festivals were celebrated to recall the dead and the ancestors. Such commemorative ceremonies preserved memory through their performance. Offerings such as food and fruit were commonly brought to the graves of friends and relatives, and communal meals were consumed at the grave. The tomb of Gnaeus Vibrius Saturninus built outside the Herculaneum gate in the last years of Pompeii's existence has an enclosure with three adjoined masonry dining couches, a *triclinium*, for participants in funerary banquets.⁶² From the early first century AD, family tombs on the Via Laurentina outside Ostia were provided with *triclinia*, and the second-century tombs of Portus frequently had masonry dining couches attached to the façade of the tomb or on either side of the entrance (Fig. 25).⁶³ *Triclinia* and dining rooms (*cubicula*) for funeral feasts have survived on the upper floors in several brick-built house-tombs of the second century AD on the Via Latina outside Rome, and they are also specifically mentioned in numerous epitaphs of tombs in Italy and Gaul.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *CIL* VI. 15593/*ILS* 8063c; Wrede 1971; Matheson 1996: 182, fig. 1. For other adult women, and even children, portrayed as goddesses, see a grave relief in London: Walker 1985: fig. 26; Walker 1995: 106, fig. 78; and a portrait bust in Rome: Wrede 1990: 20, fig. 7.

⁵⁹ Sintès 1996: cat. no. 31.

⁶⁰ *CIL* V. 7454/*ILS* 8342; *CIL* V. 4489; *CIL* V. 7906/*ILS* 8374; *CIL* VI. 9626; *CIL* X. 5835; *Epigraphica*, 52 (1990), 171–4.

⁶¹ *CIL* V. 4489/*ILS* 8370; *CIL* V. 4016/*ILS* 8373; *CIL* VI. 9626; *CIL* VI. 10248/*ILS* 8366; *CIL* XI. 1436/*ILS* 7258; *CIL* XIII. 2465; *IAq.* 2873. See Duncan-Jones 1974: 203–6. Lattimore 1942: 140, suggested that the *Rosalia* originated in Cisalpine Gaul.

⁶² *CIL* X. 1033; Kockel 1983: 109–10, pl. 31.

⁶³ Heinzelmänn 2000: 69–72; Heinzelmänn 2001b: 380; Baldassare 2001: 387; Dunbabin 2003: 128–9, fig. 74; Graham 2005: 136–42.

⁶⁴ On the Via Latina tombs, see Von Hesberg 1992: 70–1, 147, 186, figs. 27, 39, 89, 144. Inscriptions mentioning dining rooms and *triclinia* include: *CIL* VI. 10237/*ILS* 7870; *CIL* VI. 15594/*ILS* 8063c; *CIL* VI. 10332/*ILS* 7889; *CIL* VI. 10284; *CIL* VI. 10337/*ILS* 7870; *CIL* X. 6069/*ILS* 8338; *CIL* XIII. 1952; *CIL* XIV. 1636/Thylander 1952: B152.

Public philanthropy also could ensure the remembrance and posthumous prestige of the dead. Gifts to the community could include buildings and substantial repairs to buildings, land donations, games, and feasts. Publius Lucilius Gamala from Ostia, for example, paid for games, the paving of a road near the forum, a marble tribunal in the forum, three public feasts for the citizens of Ostia, the restoration of the temple of Volcanus, and the construction of four temples of Venus, Ceres, Fortuna, and Spes in the late 40s and 30s BC.⁶⁵ Gaius Munatius Faustus, a freedman and priest of the imperial cult, was commemorated by a grand funerary altar outside the Herculaneum gate at Pompeii which bore a relief depiction of his public munificence, showing him distributing money or corn to a group of men, women, and children, just in case anyone might forget his generosity (Fig. 15).⁶⁶ One is reminded of Trimalchio who wanted one image of himself in official attire distributing coins to the populace and another showing the public banquet he paid for, and also of the younger Pliny's rather sour comment that 'when people accompany their generous deeds with words [or in this case images], they are thought not to be proud of having performed them but to be performing them in order to have something to be proud of'.⁶⁷ Theatre-goers in Athens would have been grateful to Herodes Atticus and reminded of his wife Annia Regilla, because he had a theatre erected there in her memory.⁶⁸ The preservation of memory also was the motivation behind the rededication of a new temple built by the emperor Maxentius on the Via Appia outside Rome to his son, Romulus, who died unexpectedly in 309 at the age of 4.⁶⁹

Public benefaction was often ensured even after the death of a prominent individual by specifying gifts in a will. Provision was made in the second century AD in the will of Caelia Macrina from Tarracina in Italy that one million sestertii be left in memory of her son, Macer, to pay child assistance subsidies (*alimenta*) to underprivileged boys and girls in the community until they reached the age of 16 and 14 respectively, the age at which boys were to give up the child's toga (*toga praetexta*) and don the adult toga (*toga virilis*), and at which girls were expected to marry.⁷⁰ Lucius Iulius Secundus, a wine

⁶⁵ *CIL* XIV. 375/*ILS* 6147/Thylander 1952: B335. On the dates for this activity and the location of the temples just west of the 'Piazza delle Corporazioni', see D'Arms 2000; Rieger 2001: 251–2. One of Gamala's descendants (by the same name) also organized games and restored temples and baths in Ostia in the mid-2nd cent. AD: *CIL* XIV. 376. Both men are discussed by Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2001: 154–5. On gifts and foundations, see Hopkins 1983: 247–55, and for lists of prices Duncan-Jones 1974: 171–84, 207.

⁶⁶ *CIL* X. 1030/*ILS* 6373; Kockel 1983: 100–8, pl. 27a, 28a.

⁶⁷ Petronius, *Satyricon* 71; Pliny, *Letters* 1. 8. 15.

⁶⁸ Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2. 1. See Chapter 1 for her memorial outside Rome.

⁶⁹ Von Hesberg 1992: 53, fig. 124; Kerr 2002: 25.

⁷⁰ *CIL* X. 6328.



Figure 15. Honoric tomb in the form of an altar built for Gaius Munatius Faustus on the road to Herculaneum outside Pompeii, c. AD 60

transporter in Arles, left 200 denarii to the corporation of wine transporters, and out of the interest of this sum the members were to make an offering to him each year.⁷¹ Tiberius Claudius Professus Niger left instructions in his will that a portico should be erected to the god Mortasgus in his name and the name of his wife and two daughters in Alise-Sainte-Reine in central Gaul in the late second or third century. A third daughter, following his instructions, oversaw the erection of the building.⁷² Pliny the Younger in a letter to Sempronius Rufus mentioned the testamentary provision of a fund for the establishment of gymnastic games at Vienne on the Rhône river in Gallia Narbonensis.⁷³

BURIAL CLUBS AND SOCIETIES

For those of humble means, and perhaps no close family to bury them, burial clubs were established as benevolent societies from the legacies of wealthy patrons or from the contributions of the members of such societies

⁷¹ *CIL* XII. 731/Wierschowski 2001: no. 139.

⁷² *CIL* XIII. 2873/Wierschowski 2001: no. 527.

⁷³ *Letters* 4. 22. 1.

(*ex pecunia sociorum*).⁷⁴ By joining such clubs, many found comfort in the thought that they would be assured a decent burial and commemoration. This concern for a proper burial is not unique to ancient Rome, and it is a recurring theme much later in history. Even in the nineteenth century in England burial clubs and societies were a regular haven for the poor, with a membership rising to 4.3 million in 1897, although here the main incentive for joining such a club was to avoid dying in a hospital or workhouse. Such unclaimed bodies were allowed by law to be used for dissection.⁷⁵

The by-laws of a society of the cult of Silvanus (*lex familiae Silvani*) inscribed in AD 60 in Rome on Travertine limestone panels preserve the names of the members of the society, some of which were added at a later date and some of which were erased and replaced by new names, suggesting that new members were taken on when there were vacancies or when members had been excluded from the society for non-payment of fees.⁷⁶ Most of the seventy-eight members appear to have been of humble social status, including slaves. The membership fee was 240 sestertii, and when a member died each of the others was expected to contribute eight sestertii towards the funeral. The deceased member, furthermore, was expected to have given fifty sestertii in his will to the *collegium*. In all, 560 sestertii were to be given to pay for the funeral of any member of the society. Apart from the information on prices and fees, the by-laws are interesting for their insight into the social affairs of the *collegium*. Mention is made of the donation of bread (*crustulum*) and wine flavoured with honey (*mulsum*), presumably to be consumed during ceremonies and banquets, and every member was expected to attend the funeral of another member, or be liable to pay a fee. Thus, these men met in Rome on religious and social occasions, saw to it that each received a decent burial, and were there in the funeral procession to mourn the passing of a colleague.

The by-laws of the burial society of Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium (*lex collegia salutaris Dianae et Antinoi*), a town south of Rome, were inscribed on a large marble slab dating to AD 136. The inscription recorded the costs of joining the society which included an initiation fee of 100 sestertii and an amphora of good wine, thereafter 5 asses (= 2 sestertii) monthly.⁷⁷ Lucius Caesennius Rufus, the patron of the *municipium* of Lanuvium, had donated 15,000 sestertii to this *collegium* three years after the society had been

⁷⁴ CIL VI. 10234; CIL VI. 10332/ILS 7889; CIL VI. 11034/ILS 7890; CIL VI. 11035/ILS 7891. Flambard 1987: 209–44, discusses the finances of such societies.

⁷⁵ Rugg 1999: 224–5.

⁷⁶ AE 1929: 161/Flambard 1987: 221–3/Frigeri 2001: 173–4.

⁷⁷ CIL XIV. 2112/ILS 7212/Duncan-Jones 1974: 131/Flambard 1987: 225–34/ Friggeri 2001: 175–6.

established, an act of generosity that is publicized in the inscription. The by-laws also contain the regulations for the burial of members, and they specify the exact days in the year, including the birthdays of the founders and patrons of the society (Caesennius Rufus, his brother, and his mother), on which the group was to meet for regular, if frugal, dinners (wine, bread, sardines, vegetables) organized by the dinner committee (*magistri cenarum*). Dinners for the members (*sodales*) of a *collegium* in Parma in northern Italy were to be paid out of the proceeds of 23 acres of productive land belonging to the patrons, Gaius Praeconius Ventilius Magnus and his wife Livia Benigna.⁷⁸ A grave *stele* from Altinum near Venice records the donation by Lucius Ogius Patroclus of a garden associated with a tomb to the *collegium* of the local *centonarii*. Roses and produce from the garden were to be used at the tomb of the patron.⁷⁹ In this way, not only could the departed members of the society be saved from anonymity, but also the patrons and their generosity were ensured perpetual remembrance. Should the members of the burial society decrease in number or fail to pay their fees, however, the society might have to be dissolved. This was the case with the Society of Jupiter Cernenus in Alburnus Maior in Dacia (modern Romania) when, in AD 167, membership had shrunk from fifty-four to seventeen. The society, to which slaves working in the gold mines of Transylvania belonged, then no longer had enough funds to contribute to burial expenses, not even for a single coffin (*loculus*), so that it was disbanded and took no responsibility for any member dying after that date.⁸⁰

Roman aristocrats and emperors alike had communal tombs (*columbaria*) built for servants, slaves, and freedmen in their employment. These include the tombs in Rome of such notable individuals as the empress Livia on the Via Appia, of T. Statilius Taurus and his son on the junction of the Via Praenestina and the Via Labicana, and of L. Volusius Saturninus on the Via Appia.⁸¹ The epitaphs carved on small marble plaques and placed beneath the niches for cinerary urns in these tombs record for perpetuity both the names of the benefactors and the names of the men and women associated with their patrons.

⁷⁸ *S.It.* XI, no. 2 (Parma)/*AE* 1993, 713/Bodel 1998: 494. On provisions for dining in the context of *collegia*, see Dunbabin 2003: 93–102.

⁷⁹ *CIL* V. 2176; Tirelli 2001.

⁸⁰ *ILS* 7215a/Flambard 1987: 239–41. On burial societies see *CIL* VI. 10234/*ILS* 7213 and *CIL* VI. 10251–10423 which include *collegia* of scribes, religious societies, and also slaves and freedmen of patrician families.

⁸¹ Livia: *CIL* VI. 3926–4326/*ILS* 7886–8; illustrated in Gregori and Mattei 1999: 1265–1453, pls. pp. 397–425; Statilii: *CIL* VI. 6213–6640; *ILS* 7873, 7407a–c, 7424a, 7426–7426a, 7432a–d, 7343, 7335a–b, 7438, 7440a–b, 7447a–b; Volusii: *CIL* VI. 7281–7394a, 9326, 9423; *ILS* 7405, 7406a–c, 7418, 7863, 7865. On the slaves and freedmen of Livia, see Treggiari 1975; on the Volusii, see Buonocore 1984; on the Statilii, see Caldelli and Ricci, 1999.

Burial societies also were established by professional guilds or religious colleges for their members. The college of the priests of Isis in Arles saw to the commemoration of one of their members, Maximinus, in the late second or early third century.⁸² A *collegium fabrum tignuariorum* (society of timber craftsmen) is known from an inscription in Rome that mentions thirty-two urns for cremations (*ollae*) of its members in a communal tomb.⁸³ A society of quilt-makers and firemen (*collegium fabrum et centonariorum*) in Szentendre and Aquincum in Hungary was responsible for the erection of a number of inscribed grave *stelae* of their members from the late first century AD.⁸⁴ A guild of cloak-makers (*burarii collegae*) in Saintes in western Gallia Aquitania saw to the burial of a 35-year-old member from the northern Gaulish territory of the Nervii in the second or third century.⁸⁵ A *collegium ostiariorum Caesaris nostri* (society of the doormen in the imperial palace) in Rome is known through the funerary inscription of one of its leading members, Publius Aelius Pyramus, a freedman of Hadrian.⁸⁶ Pyramus entrusted the building of his tomb to the *collegium*, and left behind instructions, inscribed on the stone, that only when his family line ended could the tomb be passed on and used by members of the society. It is not always certain what connected the members of a *collegium*, but we know of two priests of the imperial cult (*seviri Augustales*) in Aquileia who had lists of names of individuals who had access to a communal tomb; Lucius Petronius Fuscus had seventeen names inscribed on his epitaph, and Lucius Suedius Iucundus included twenty-one individuals in his tomb.⁸⁷

Societies were also established by groups of individuals living far away from home, who may have been particularly concerned about receiving a proper burial when there was no family with them to see to this. One such organization was the society for men and women from Cologne who were resident, probably as traders and merchants, in Aquincum on the Danube. This was the society of *cives Agrippinenses Transalpini* (citizens of Cologne beyond the Alps).⁸⁸ Another may have been organized for citizens of the northern Spanish town of Uxama who lived in Segóvia in central Spain. Tombstones in Segóvia name a society of 'fellows' (*sodales*) who buried Uxama natives there.⁸⁹ The *sodales Serrenses*, a society of men from the *vicus Serrensis* in

⁸² Sintès 1996: cat. no. 135.

⁸³ *CIL* VI. 9405.

⁸⁴ *RIU* 3, no. 908/Maroti 2003: no. 18; *RIU* 3, no. 897/Maroti 2003: no. 19; Németh 1999: no. 67, 68, 101. A *collegium centonariorum* is also attested in Rome: *CIL* VI. 7861.

⁸⁵ *CIL* XIII. 1056/*ILA* Santons, no. 39/Wierschowski 2001: no. 404.

⁸⁶ Friggeri 2001: 156.

⁸⁷ *CIL* V. 8973/*I.Aq.* 612; *CIL* V. 1008/*I.Aq.* 617.

⁸⁸ *CIL* III. 10548; *AE* 1933, 111/Németh 1999: no. 71.

⁸⁹ *CIL* II. 2731/Knapp 1992: no. 227; *CIL* II. 2732/Knapp 1992: no. 338.

North Africa, had a 'club-house' for their members in Rome on the Via Nomentana, and there was almost certainly a communal burial site for them nearby. Excavations there in the nineteenth century revealed an enclosed area with a low bench running around the inside of the wall and an inscribed altar in the centre.⁹⁰ A society of veterans (*collegium veteranorum*) in Aquileia may also have guaranteed burial to ex-soldiers who may not have been from Aquileia but who settled there after retirement, possibly without families.⁹¹ All these *collegia* fulfilled a social function, meeting regularly, celebrating festivals as a community, and assuming the responsibility for burying each other. By holding offices within a *collegium*, members could also be individuals of rank and standing in a hierarchically structured community. This must have made the *collegia* appealing for people of low social status who could never hope to hold public office.⁹²

THE PUBLIC NATURE OF FUNERARY MONUMENTS

An effective way of ensuring visibility and continued attention after death was to choose a prominent position and a public and frequented space for a funerary monument. In this way, the memorial would be seen and visited by many. The grieving Cicero sought an ideal location for the tomb of his beloved daughter, Tullia, who died in 45 BC, and he preferred one that had a grove and a prominent location, so that it could be visited easily and often by those wishing to preserve her memory.⁹³ Visitors to the tomb, who kept the *memoria* of the deceased alive, were an important aspect of the funerary cult. The roadside location of tombs throughout the empire—the monuments *face* the road—facilitated the display of grave markers of all kinds. The Via Flaminia that led north-west from Rome across Umbria to the Adriatic coast is referred to directly in the epitaph of Gnaeus Gargonius Paullinus in Fulginium (modern Foligno) in Umbria: 'you who pass by on the Via Flaminia, stop and read this!'⁹⁴ This stone was actually found in a position facing the Via Flaminia. Cynthia, the deceased mistress of the poet Propertius, appeared to him in a dream and asked him to inscribe an epitaph on her tomb, adding that it should be brief 'such as the hurrying traveller may read as he leaves Rome'.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ CIL VI. 839; Flambarb 1987: 216–17.

⁹² Joshel 1992: 116–17; Kloppenburg 1996: 26.

⁹³ *To Atticus* 12. 36–7; Lavagne 1987: 160–1.

⁹⁵ *Elegies* 4. 7. 85–6.

⁹¹ CIL V. 784/IAq. 685.

⁹⁴ Bücheler 1895–7: 1152.

The roadside location of funerary monuments is apparent not only in surviving Roman cemeteries or in excavated stretches of them, it is also illustrated by a rare marble slab once fixed in AD 16 to a tomb on the Via Labicana in Rome (Fig. 16). This panel actually depicts a stylized plan of a funerary monument and accompanying gardens, and details in words and numbers are inscribed on the panel (not shown in Fig. 16).⁹⁶ The entire complex borders directly on streets (called *viae privatae* to differentiate them from the public thoroughfare, *via publica*) for the main traffic. The length of two of the private streets is 546 and 523 Roman feet respectively, giving the tomb and its precinct optimal exposure to passers-by. At Pompeii, Ostia, and Pizzone near Nocera, the stone benches located along the streets of tombs in the late first century BC and first century AD provided seats for passers-by whose attention was drawn to the associated tombs with their inscriptions (Fig. 17), and many tombs were situated directly adjacent to houses and

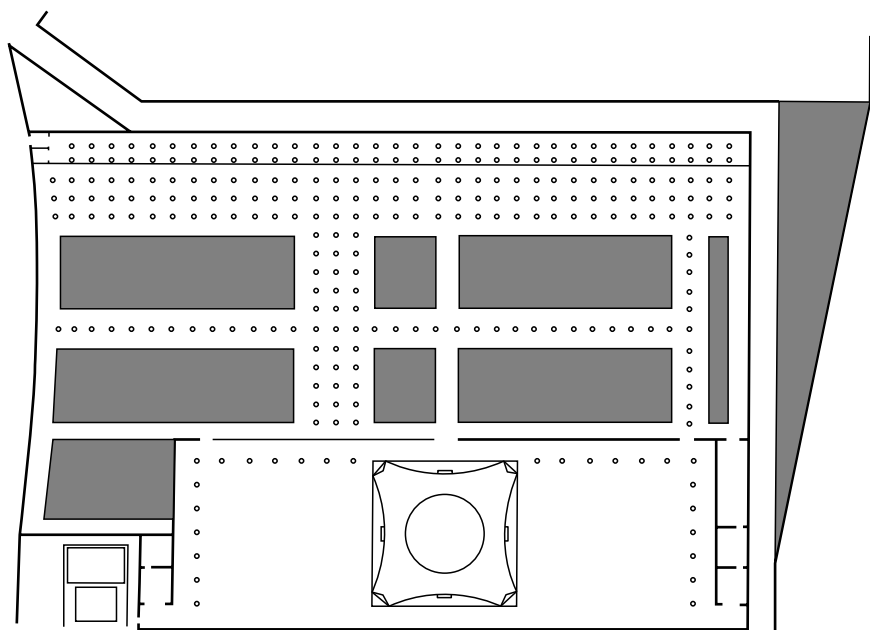


Figure 16. Marble plan of a tomb and its gardens from the Via Labicana in Rome, early 1st century AD

⁹⁶ *CIL* VI. 29847; Toynbee 1971: 99, fig. 8; Carroll 2003: 77, fig. 61. See also another plan from the tomb of the imperial freedwoman Claudia Peloris in Rome: *CIL* VI. 29847a; Toynbee 1971: 99, fig. 7. A funerary inscription, also found on the Via Labicana outside Rome, preserves the written description of a tomb with a vineyard, orchard, and flower garden: *CIL* VI. 10237/*ILS* 7870.

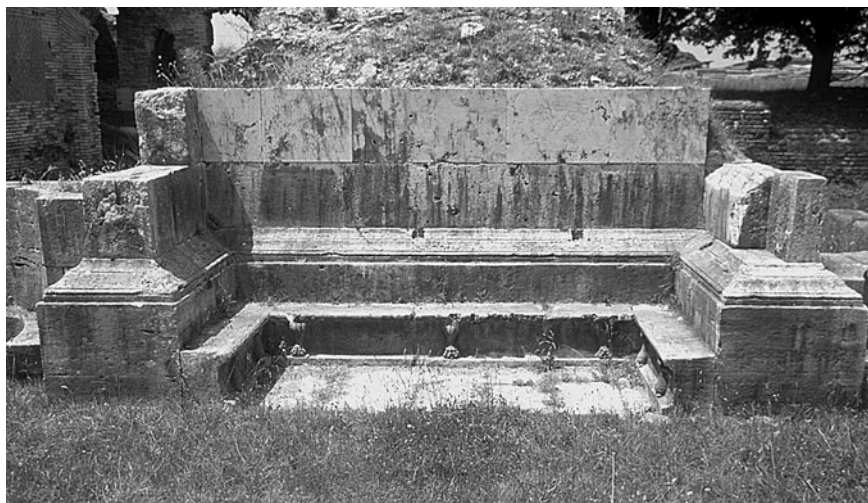


Figure 17. Funerary monument with a bench outside the Porta Marina in Ostia, 1st century AD

shops.⁹⁷ The close proximity of these properties indicates that the spaces for the dead and the living were intimately connected, a situation which contributed to the constant confrontation with tombs and their inscribed messages, and to the lasting remembrance of the dead.

Tombs sometimes faced a nearby river or the sea-shore so that those sailing by would catch a good look at the monuments, as the following examples illustrate. The mausoleum of Augustus (Fig. 4a) on one bank of the Tiber and that of Hadrian on the other were highly visible from the river and from either of its banks.⁹⁸ Their locations were not randomly chosen, both in regard to visibility and to their juxtaposition with other dynastic and public monuments. In Wintersdorf in south-west Germany, a walled enclosure containing at least four funerary statues opened up on the riverside to display its statues to the traffic on the Sauer river below.⁹⁹ At Sarsina in northern Italy the tombstones marking the graves of the late second and early third centuries were positioned to be seen from the river Savio, rather than from the road.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Pompeii: *CIL* X. 998/*ILS* 6369; Kockel 1983: 57–9, pls. 6a, 7a, 9, 10a (Tomb of Mammia); *CIL* X. 996; Kockel 1983: 51–2 (Tomb of Aulus Veius); Spano 1910: 386–90; Kockel 1983: 19–20 (Tomb of Aesquillia Polla); Ostia: Boschung 1987: 123; Von Hesberg 1992: 167, fig. 81; Pizzone (Nocera): De' Spagnolis 2000. For shops, houses, and tombs outside the Herculaneum gate at Pompeii, see Carroll 2003: 79, fig. 62, and on the necropolis as an environment for the living as well as the dead, see Graham 2005: 134–6.

⁹⁸ Von Hesberg 1992: 99–100, fig. 52; 108–9, fig. 60; Davies 2000: 13–19, figs. 2–5; 34–40, figs. 25–30. Davies analyses 'the power of place' for both monuments: 137–42, 158–63.

⁹⁹ Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 5237.

¹⁰⁰ Ortalli 1987: 163–4, pl. 22a.

The circular tomb of Lucius Munatius Plancus stood and still stands largely intact on the summit of the highest hill above the coastal Italian city of Gaeta, and it was in a prime position to be seen from ships at sea (Fig. 4b).¹⁰¹ The most high-status commemorative monuments outside Ostia were located just outside the Porta Marina and within view from the sea-shore.¹⁰² These locations demonstrate that funerary monuments were private and, at the same time, public monuments.

Just how public the character of funerary monuments was can be illustrated by examining two inscriptions from Lyon naming the councillor (*decurio*) Gaius Apronius Raptor. One of the inscriptions is carved on the stone base of a statue erected in the first quarter of the second century by the guild of wine merchants in his honour.¹⁰³ The statue base was found on the island in the Rhône known as the *canabae*, and was set up as a public honorific monument, probably near or in the buildings in which this guild had its headquarters. The other inscription is the commemorative slab fixed on Raptor's funerary monument in the Lyon-Vaise cemetery flanking the road leading to northern Gaul and Germania Inferior.¹⁰⁴ The first text is taken from the statue base, that below from the funerary epitaph:

To Gaius Apronius Raptor,
son of Apronius Blandus,
the Treveran,
the councillor of that civitas,
the Saone shipper,
the patron of that guild.
The wine merchants
of Lyon
have dedicated this statue
to their deserving patron
who gave every merchant

¹⁰¹ Fellmann 1957; Von Hesberg 1992: 29, 97, fig. 50; Eisner 1986: 213–15; Schwarz 2002: 158–60, pls. 2, 33.1.2.

¹⁰² These include the tomb (large tholos) possibly of L. Lucilius Gamala, the tomb of C. Cartilius Poplicola, and another monument without a surviving inscription opposite that of Poplicola: Floriani Squarciapino 1958: 171–81, figs. 69–71, pls. XXX, XXXI.1; 181–90, figs. 76, 78, 91, pl. XXXIII; Boschung 1987: 123–4; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2001: 156–8; D'Arms 2000: 200. Frischer 1982–3, however, proposes that these monuments outside the Porta Marina at Ostia were not tombs at all, but rather memorials to honour the deceased named in the inscriptions. Those individuals, he postulates, were actually buried elsewhere in traditional family tombs. Poplicola e.g. may have been buried near modern Acilia on the road from Ostia to Rome: Frischer 1982–3: 54. The topic is discussed in more detail in the context of honours expressed in funerary epigraphy in Ch. 5.

¹⁰³ *CIL* XIII. 1911/Krier 1981: 7/Wierschowski 2001: no. 443.

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* XIII. 11179/Krier 1981: 8/Wierschowski 2001: no. 586.

5 denarii on the occasion
of this dedication.

To the spirits of the dead
(and of) Gaius Apronius Raptor,
the Treveran,
the councillor of that civitas,
the wine merchant in the canabae,
the Saone shipper,
patron of both guilds.
Apronia Bellica and Apronia Apra
had this made for (him and) themselves
while they were alive and dedicated
it while still under the hammer.

The text on both monuments is almost identical, both of them relaying information on the origin and the public life and honours of Gaius Apronius Raptor. Both the funerary monument and the statue were erected in locations in which they would be seen by many. Only in the funerary epitaph is there any reference to his private life in that two women, probably his daughters, were there to bury him as his heirs, but this insight into his personal circumstances is very limited. His daughters highlight the public face of their father, not his character as a parent and family member. In the absence of a publicly financed honorific statue and accompanying laudatory text, to which only a very few individuals were entitled, a grave monument with an inscription could act as a self-commissioned 'honorific' monument.¹⁰⁵ Gaius Apronius Raptor had both types of monuments, but most people did not. The 'honorific' and public nature of a funerary monument is especially clear when self-commissioned statues and painted images of the deceased formed part of the monument, as is the case with the tomb of the young magistrate Marcus Vestorius Priscus outside the Porta Vesuvio in Pompeii. One of the paintings decorating the inside of his tomb enclosure dating to the 70s AD depicts him in official dress and pose as an aedile, a local magistrate in charge of streets and buildings.¹⁰⁶ The tomb and its decoration were commissioned and paid for by his mother, whose depiction and recording of her son's status reflected well on and brought honour to herself and the rest of the family.

The similarity between inscriptions on tombs and those on public buildings and temples is also apparent in the occasionally excellent style and size of the carved letters used on both types of text. On some of the large mausolea in Narbonne the letters range between 21 and 26 centimetres in height, vying

¹⁰⁵ This issue is explored by Von Hesberg 1992: 121–70.

¹⁰⁶ Mols and Moormann 1993/4: 29–30, 43–4, fig. 21.

with the letters between 25 and 29 centimetres carved on the inscriptions of public monuments in Lyon.¹⁰⁷ These funerary epitaphs were clearly meant to demonstrate the status and importance of the deceased to all viewers.

EPITAPHS AND THE VIEWER

The repeated visual contact with funerary monuments explains the provision of some tombs with epitaphs that speak to the passer-by, particularly to the stranger (*hospes*) or traveller (*viator*). Such inscriptions appear in Rome from the late second century BC, and by the first century AD they can be found in many regions of western Europe. Gaius Ateilius Euhodus, a freedman merchant in pearls, had his tomb on the Via Appia outside Rome inscribed with the following message: 'Stranger, stop and behold this heap of earth on your left. Here are contained the bones of a good man, a compassionate man and a friend of the poor.'¹⁰⁸ The epitaph closes with the greeting 'Farewell traveller!'. Gaius Iulius Niger, who died as a soldier of the second legion in the early first century AD in Mainz, asks strangers to 'read what is said in a few lines'.¹⁰⁹ The gravestone of Paulla, set up in the first century AD in Mainz by her father, reads: 'Stranger, if you want to know the circumstances of this grave, read this, because the cause of death was a sad one' (Fig. 18).¹¹⁰ The third-century epitaph of Sextus Iulius Felicissimus in Aix-en-Provence asks travellers to read the text on the stone and 'learn by this inscription how destiny envied me'.¹¹¹ Seneca's recitation of a fictional epitaph on the tomb of Dossennus that said 'pause, stranger, and read the wisdom of Dossennus' is clearly a literary reflection of actual practice in funerary commemoration.¹¹²

The epitaphs not only commemorate a loved one, they also acted as a reminder to visitors of their own mortality. The inscription on the gravestone of the 45-year-old soldier Titus Flaminus who served in *Legio XIV* in Wroxeter instructs the visitor as follows: 'I did my service, and now am here. Read this and be either more or less fortunate in your lifetime. The gods prohibit

¹⁰⁷ Narbonne: *CIL* XII. 5319d; Musée Lapidaire 1458; Musée Lapidaire 1446; Lyon: *CIL* XIII. 1696; *CIL* XIII. 1704; *CIL* XIII. 1712.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* I. 1027 = *CIL* VI. 9545/*ILS* 7602.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* XIII. 7234/Selzer 1988: 5.

¹¹⁰ *CSIR* II. 6. 30/Selzer 1988: 96.

¹¹¹ *CIL* XII. 533/Rémy 1984: 117–21.

¹¹² *Moral Essays* 89. 6. There are other reflections of contemporary epitaphs of this nature in literary works. Pacuvius' epitaph entreats the passer-by to read his tombstone (Gellius, *Attic Nights* I. 24. 4), and Martial wrote an epitaph for an actor that addresses the traveller and asks him to reflect on the inscribed words (*Epigrams* 11. 13).



Figure 18. Funerary *stèle* of Paula in Mainz, 1st century AD. The inscription speaks to the stranger and ends with a request for a greeting. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

you from the wine-grape and water when you enter Tartarus. Live honourably while your star grants you time for life.’¹¹³ Flavius Agricola in Rome addresses the visitor through his epitaph of the mid-second century AD: ‘Friends, who read this, listen to my advice: mix wine, tie the garlands around your head, drink deep. And do not deny pretty girls the sweets of love. When death comes, earth and fire consume everything.’¹¹⁴

The epitaphs were meant to be read, and read aloud. Funerary inscriptions with a wide distribution in Italy, Spain, and Germany actually ask the viewer to give a spoken greeting to the deceased and to say ‘may the earth rest lightly on you!’ (*dicas sit tibi terra levis*).¹¹⁵ This prompted greeting was so popular in the first and second centuries AD in the Spanish province of Baetica that the

¹¹³ RIB 292.

¹¹⁴ CIL VI. 17985a; Dunbabin 2003: 103–4, fig. 54. A reminder that the pleasures of life, especially drinking and dining, should be enjoyed before they are cut short by death, is conveyed by the depiction of skeletons partaking of these delights on drinking vessels, in stucco reliefs, mosaics, and funerary reliefs: Dunbabin 1986; Dunbabin 2003: 132–6.

¹¹⁵ CIL II²/5. 686; CIL II. 3256; CIL VI. 22377; CIL XIV. 480; Alföldy 1975: no. 447; CIL XIII. 11889/Selzer 1988: 95/CSIR II. 6. 50; Selzer 1988: 96/CSIR II. 6. 30.

phrase *dicite qui legitis sit tibi terra levis* (say, you who read: may the earth lie lightly on you!) or *te rogo praeteriens dicas sit tibi terra levis* (I ask you in passing to say: may the earth lie lightly on you!) is often abbreviated as *D Q L S T T* or *T R P D S T T L* respectively (see Appendix, No. 1).¹¹⁶ The survival of the memory of the deceased thus required active participation by the viewer in a dialogue *with* the deceased. An epitaph from Lyon that says ‘since the letters on the stone preserve my voice, it will live on through your voice when you read these lines’, is a good indication that there was an intimate connection between the inscribed words and the spoken ones.¹¹⁷ An Ostian epitaph says to the traveller who reads the text that ‘your voice is my voice’.¹¹⁸ Another, also from Ostia, says that the dead man speaks ‘without a voice through the inscribed marble’, and it asks the reader to call out to him.¹¹⁹ Speaking to or about the dead whilst stopping and contemplating the tomb prolonged and called forth the memory of the dead. This is reflected in Propertius’ angry warning to his mistress Cynthia that the traveller (*viator*) would pass by her grave, unheeding, and never say ‘This dust was a learned maid’.¹²⁰ Calling to the dead, he believed, would return that person ‘on a journey no law permits’.¹²¹ This performance of speaking or reciting, perhaps with overtones of magic, was a response elicited by the written words, and it bridged the gap between the dead and the living in a symbolic way.¹²²

In these circumstances, it is important to consider how broadly the inscriptions were understood by anyone viewing the monuments. Harris estimated that less than 10 per cent of adult males in the western provinces in the first couple of centuries AD were literate, and that adult male literacy in Rome and Italy during the same period was well below 20 to 30 per cent.¹²³ This would imply that most people would not have been able to read the inscriptions on grave monuments. But dividing the population into ‘literate’ and ‘illiterate’ may be to characterize the situation in terms that are too black-and-white. Perhaps it would be more accurate to accept that there was a degree of ‘limited literacy’ between these two extremes, especially in regard to monumental writing. Monumental writing of all kinds was generally very formulaic, relying on standard abbreviations for a variety of terms and expressions.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* II²/5. 947; *CIL* II²/5. 997; *CIL* II²/5. 1221 = *CIL* II. 1498; *CIL* II²/7. 359; *CIL* II²/7. 1099; *CIL* II²/7. 1220.

¹¹⁷ *CIL* XIII. 2104.

¹¹⁸ *CIL* XIV. 356.

¹¹⁹ *CIL* XI. 480.

¹²⁰ *Elegies* 2. 11. 3–6.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 2. 27. 13–16.

¹²² On reading texts aloud, see Hendrickson 1929; Gavrillov 1997; Bodel 2001: 16–18. The ‘speaking stones’ and their significance is the subject of a study in progress by the author.

¹²³ Harris 1989: 259, 272.

IMP CAESAR (*Imperator Caesar*), PONT MAX (*Pontifex Maximus*), and COS (*consul*) are some of the abbreviations used habitually on imperial inscriptions naming emperors and their offices. Roman coins, although strictly speaking not examples of monumental writing, were distributed and used widely by people from all walks of life, consistently being inscribed with abbreviations such as IMP AUG (*Imperator Augustus*), PP (*pater patriae*), and TRIB POT (*tribunicia potestas*).¹²⁴ Standard abbreviations used in funerary inscriptions include, to name just a very few, DM (*Dis Manibus*), HSE (*hic situs est*), and EX T FEC (*ex testamento fecit*). These standardized combinations of letters would have been widely understood, whether or not one was literate enough to read something as complex as Latin verse, because they always appear in the same contexts. The abbreviations of words in the epitaphs could be read like pictograms. In a garrison town on the frontier, for example, the abbreviation LEG (*legio*) or COH (*cohors*), followed by a number, would have been understandable to at least some of the illiterate local inhabitants, or those with limited literacy, of towns through which soldiers and government officials passed and next to which monuments of the military were erected.

A different combination of these abbreviations or a different context for them, for example written in ink on papyrus, or words written in cursive style, or written in full rather than abbreviated, might have rendered the texts incomprehensible. In the *Satyricon*, Petronius makes the rather boorish Hermeros say that, although he was not particularly well educated or familiar with literary criticism, he did 'know his lapidary letters'.¹²⁵ In other words, he could read inscriptions well enough to get by, but he may have had difficulty with other written documents. Lengthy poems written on some gravestones in Latin or Greek, or epitaphs written in Aramaic (Fig. 19), surely would have posed an insurmountable problem to those who could barely read Latin, a language already foreign to the indigenous populations in the Roman West, let alone other tongues of the eastern Mediterranean.¹²⁶ But these stones, at least in western Europe, were the exception, and most of the epitaphs made primary use of the standard Latin abbreviations.

Furthermore, people, at least in the urban areas, were surrounded constantly by inscriptions. The location of monumental inscriptions on public buildings, triumphal arches and temples would have made it clear to anyone

¹²⁴ Burnett 2002.

¹²⁵ *Satyricon* 58.

¹²⁶ *RIB* 758; *RIB* 1065; *CIL* XII. 3406; *CIL* XII. 3672; *CIL* XII. 4015; *CIL* XIII. 2267. Edmondson 2002: 42, suggests that texts on monuments, even if indecipherable to many, would have drastically impressed on indigenous peoples after the Roman conquest that they were now part of a different political and cultural world.



Figure 19. Tombstone of Regina from South Shields with Latin and Aramaic text, 3rd century AD. Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum, South Shields

that the inscribed texts were of official and public character. In the case of funerary epitaphs, the setting in itself, the cemetery with rows of inscribed stones, was an ‘epigraphic environment’, and one for which the knowledge existed that it was inhabited only by the dead.¹²⁷ In addition, many of the tombstones were carved with actual pictures and images which aided in understanding the message. These often included an image of the deceased, sometimes in full military regalia, or involved in professional activities, or leisurely reclining at a banquet. A portrait of a man made clear that a man was commemorated, just as a depiction of a woman or a small child indicated to whom the stone was dedicated. For example, the name, profession, and circumstances of the death of Lucundus, a livestock breeder in Mainz in the first century AD, are contained in the inscribed text of his gravestone, and a depiction of a shepherd tending his flock at the bottom of the *stèle* visually captures the working life of the deceased (see Chapter 6).¹²⁸ The combination of text and image thus had the capacity to ‘communicate things that could not

¹²⁷ Woolf 1996: 28.

¹²⁸ *CIL* XIII. 7070/*ILS* 8511/Selzer 1988: 116/*CSIR* II. 6. 52.

be portrayed in a single pictorial image'.¹²⁹ Even the size, shape, and elaborateness of the monuments instantly communicated information about the status and wealth of the deceased, whether or not the viewer might have been able to read very much of the epitaph.

But in addition to asking whether small or large numbers of people could read the inscribed texts, we also need to recognize how the inscriptions played an active role in the reproduction and negotiation of social status and relations. The written words on the tombs are not only a source of information about each and every deceased individual, they were intentionally chosen by the deceased or those close to them to communicate standing and status within the community and to embed that individual within it. Deciding on a monument and an epitaph was an act that allowed one to negotiate social relations. One was able to compete with others on the same social level, to set oneself apart from those of lower social standing, and also to 'correct' inequalities in life. This applies not only to the content of the inscription, but also to what writing symbolized. We cannot, and need not, assume that everyone who possessed an inscribed gravestone was necessarily literate. It was easy to tell the letter-cutter what information was to be included in the epitaph and to commission him with translating that into a written version (see Chapter 4). Just as scenes of men and women writing or keeping accounts or holding book scrolls is an image in Roman wall paintings and sculpture that was chosen to suggest or convey the impression that the depicted individual was educated and well versed in reading, writing, and drawing up a will, the act of setting up a monument with an inscription may have been a symbolic one and one that acknowledged the power and status attached to appearing to be literate.¹³⁰ The owner of the epitaph may not have written, or been able to write, the text himself, but there was an audience possessing varying degrees of literacy skills to whom, in more ways than one, the inscription spoke and was directed. The widespread existence of writing affected the experience of living in Roman society, as Hopkins asserts, and texts, especially those that were as public as funerary inscriptions, were both social symbols and active ingredients in promoting cultural and ideological change.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Woolf 1996: 28. The words and the images can, however, tell different stories, or at least reveal different aspects of the identity of the deceased. The inscription on the tomb of the Voconii family in Emerita Augusta in Spain e.g. names the dedicant, his father, mother, and sister, without any reference to army service. The motifs carved above the inscription, however, depict medallions (*phalerae*), neck rings (*torques*), and bracelets (*armillae*) that were given to soldiers as rewards (*dona militaria*) for valour. The paintings inside the tomb show neither the father nor the son in military dress. Keppie 2003: 44–5, fig. 12, suggests that the father had been a soldier and one of the original colonists at Emerita Augusta. For the tomb, see also Edmondson 2000: 299–303, figs. 1, 3–6.

¹³⁰ On literacy and power, see Bowman and Woolf 1994: 1–16.

¹³¹ Hopkins 1991: 144.

Anonymity, Violation, and Memory Loss

So that they have not died unknown with the loss of their name on foreign soil, the inscription on this little stone speaks of them.

(Funerary inscription of the early first century AD from Narbonne:
CIL XII. 5276)

THE NAMELESS DEAD

The inscribed texts on funerary monuments play an important role in naming the deceased and his or her position in society. As Connerton highlights, the fact that something is inscribed demonstrates a will to be remembered.¹ If there is one thing that the majority of epitaphs have in common it is the naming of the deceased. How important was the survival of one's name? For Pliny the Younger, at least, nothing affected him so strongly 'as the desire of a lasting name'.² This sentiment is echoed in the epitaph of Marcus Antonius Antius Lupus, a military tribune put to death by the emperor Commodus. The inscription expressed the conviction that despite his treatment by Commodus his *name* would be a cause for perpetual celebration.³

With this in mind, burials without texts and without a record of the name of the departed appear in a different light. Many of the so-called herm *stelae* or *columelle*, especially those made of basalt lava and tufa, in the approximate form of a stylized human torso and head from the Campanian towns of Pompeii, Stabiae, Nola, and Nocera bear no inscribed name at all (Fig. 20).⁴ Nevertheless, each of these *stelae* was positioned above an urn containing cremated human remains, and a lead or tile pipe for liquid offerings in

¹ Connerton 1989: 102.

² *Letters* 5. 8.

³ CIL VI. 1343.

⁴ CIL X. 999–1000, 1005–6, 1008, 1010–13, 1020, 1028–9, 1031–2, 1039, 1044–5, 1047, 1050, 1053–6, 1058, 1060–2; Kockel 1983: 16–18; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983, 1987; Magalhaes 1999; De' Spagnolis 2001.



Figure 20. *Columella* of basalt lava in stylized human form from the tomb of Marcus Arrius Diomedes outside the Herculaneum Gate at Pompeii, 1st century AD. Judging by the coiffeur, the *columella* represents a woman

memory of the deceased led directly to that cinerary urn. A particularly well preserved set of *columelle* still connected by lead libation pipes with the underlying glass cinerary urns in lead containers was found recently within a walled enclosure belonging to the locally prominent family of the Lucretii Valentes in the modern district of Scafati near Pompeii.⁵ Libations consisted of water, wine, milk, honey, and perfumes; the latter were frequently offered at Pompeii, judging by the frequent occurrence of glass perfume vials or *balsamaria* in the tomb precincts.⁶

The individual burials within the plot remained anonymous if the *columelle* were anepigraphic, but it must be remembered that many of these monuments were set up within the boundaries of a family tomb that was marked by an inscription panel at the entrance to the plot, giving at least the family name

⁵ De' Spagnolis Conticello 1993/4.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 535–70, mentions these libation materials. The analysed liquids in glass cinerary urns at Pompeii were wine, oil, and water: Mau 1899: 416; Kockel 1983: 100–1. For *balsamaria*, see e.g. D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tomb 17ES, 9ES. There are also vials in glass and terracotta that were burnt, having been thrown on the funeral pyre, or broken and gathered up with the pyre debris for deposition in the tomb: Mau 1899: 405; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 222. In the north-west European provinces the inclusion of *balsamaria* (along with lamps and coins) stands out as a particularly Roman/Italic custom against the backdrop of the contemporary Germanic and Celtic practice of depositing weapons and articles of dress (such as *fibulae*) in the graves: Fasold and Witteyer 2001.

of the owner. When marble, a material more suitable than basalt for cutting precise letters, was introduced for these *stelae* the practice of inscribing a name on them occurred more frequently. The anonymity of the dead was thereby substantially reduced, but some individuals continued to be buried anonymously, even with a marble *columella*. A brief examination of two tombs in Pompeii will serve to illustrate this. Tomb F North outside the Porta Nocera was built, as the inscription above the door to the enclosure tells us, by the freedwoman Verania Clara for her patron, the senior magistrate (*duovir*) Gaius Veranius Rufus. Inside, the only *columelle* that are inscribed with names are two marble ones for Veranius and Verania; the other four are made of basalt lava and are anepigraphic.⁷ In another tomb enclosure of the first century AD in the same cemetery ('Area B'), nineteen individuals were buried with their graves marked by a *columella*.⁸ Of these nineteen, eight were of basalt lava with no inscription, and eleven were of marble. However, only six of these marble *columelle* were inscribed with names; the other five remained anonymous. We might assume that the uninscribed *columelle* belonged to family slaves or other dependants, but the assemblage in another tomb in this cemetery should warn us against making such an assumption. Tomb I North has three inscriptions above the door, revealing that the freedmen Marcus Lollius Nicia and Lollia Hermiona built this tomb in the late first century BC or early first century AD for themselves, for Marcus Lollius Felix, Marcus Lollius Lucrio, and their freedmen and freedwomen.⁹ Yet inside the precinct there are six *columelle*, all of basalt lava and all without an inscription. At least four of these must belong to the individuals named in the main inscription on the tomb, not to slaves, but they are buried anonymously too. However this 'anonymity' might not have existed as far as the family and household is concerned, because it was they who visited the tomb and performed the rites regularly. Presumably they knew who was buried here, without it being written down on markers within the precinct.

We know far too little about the indigenous populations of western Europe who, possibly for ideological or cultural reasons, consciously chose not to have a permanent memorial. Why did the Britons, or for that matter the most northerly populations of the Netherlands, apparently widely reject this form of commemoration?¹⁰ The memory of specific individuals who died there may have only lived on for a generation or two within the immediate family or community. Of course, in northern Gaul there are some cemeteries, especially those associated with stable communities, that were in continuous

⁷ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 209–10, pl. 33d–e, g–h.

⁸ Ibid. 216–18, pls. 31a, 35h, 36e–g.

⁹ Ibid. 213–15, pls. 34e, 35a–d.

¹⁰ Mann 1985; Vermeulen and Bourgeois 2000.

use from the Early Iron Age through the Roman period, suggesting that there was the collective knowledge and memory of many past generations and the site of their burial.¹¹ But the dead who were buried there centuries earlier were probably thought of as an ancestral community, rather than each person being remembered as an individual. At any rate, the memory of the more recent dead in such communities was not publicly advertised, or at least not with a permanent inscribed stone marker.

Perhaps there is a correlation between the lavishness of grave goods within the tomb and the lack of commemoration in the form of an inscribed permanent marker outside the tomb. Fasold and Witteyer in their study on burial customs in the early Empire in the provinces of Raetia and Germania Superior were able to demonstrate broadly two different burial and commemorative traditions.¹² The more typically 'Roman' or 'Italian' burials involved the provision of an inscription to commemorate the deceased, as well as the deposition of items used during the cremation and burial (such as perfume vials or *balsamaria*, coins, lamps) and those artefacts necessary for recurring commemorative rituals at the grave side (such as vessels for pouring libations). The indigenous Celtic burials of Roman date were accompanied by weapons, tools, and articles of dress (such as brooches or *fibulae*), as well as crockery, and food and drink. The offerings in Celtic-type burials therefore indicate the desire to provide the dead with items he or she used while alive (or would still need after death) and with sustenance to maintain the deceased in the afterlife. The dead 'lived on', but without an external reminder to the living in the form of an inscription, and perhaps without the constant participation of the living in post-burial rituals. The Roman custom of commemoration, on the other hand, required the continued interaction of the living with the dead at feasts, festivals, and ceremonies at the grave, and it depended heavily on the survival of the memory of the dead by means of a permanent, inscribed marker that spoke to the living.

At this point I should like to explore one particular cemetery in the north-west provinces in more depth, because it raises many questions about death, burial, and commemoration, particularly in areas distant from Rome, that we will be considering in the following chapters. This is the cemetery immediately to the east of the small town (*vicus*) of Wederath (ancient Belginum) in the territory of the Celtic Treveri in the Moselle region in modern Germany (Fig. 21).¹³ Roman Belginum lay on a main overland route connecting Reims

¹¹ Haffner 1989*b*; Vermeulen and Bourgeois 2000: 144–5.

¹² Fasold and Witteyer 2001.

¹³ Haffner 1989*b*; Abegg *et al.* 1989.

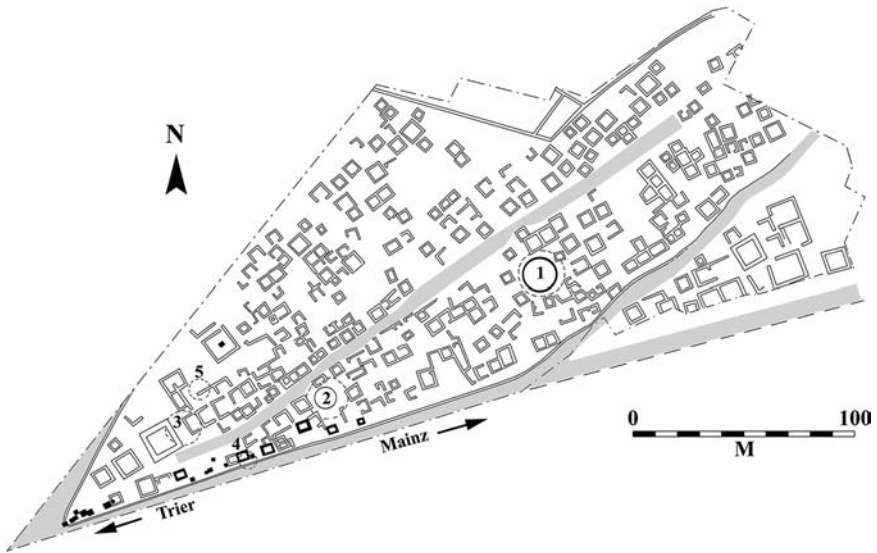


Figure 21. Simplified plan of the Roman cemetery within boundary ditches at Wederath/Belgium in Germany. Dotted circles = Iron Age *tumuli*; white rectangles = ditched funerary enclosures; black rectangles = masonry funerary enclosures; black squares = stone funerary monuments; grey = roads. The numerous burial pits are not shown

and Trier in the west with Mainz and Koblenz in the east. The south-eastern limits of the cemetery ran parallel to the Roman road to Mainz, whilst another road branching off to the north formed the north-western boundary. The area was used for burials from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD, the earliest tombs being seven *tumuli* or circular barrows of various sizes containing cremation burials of the fourth to mid-third century BC. These originally were located on either side of the Iron Age road that later became the central internal road of the Roman cemetery. The *tumuli* were superseded from the late second century by cremation burials deposited in pits, with female and male burials clearly marked by the inclusion of weapons or jewellery. From about 20 BC, when the region had become part of the Roman province of Gallia Belgica, cremation burials were deposited in square or rectangular plots delimited by ditches or stone walls (so-called grave gardens), or under or near a stone-built monument, or simply in pits dug in the earth. In the early first century AD a number of veterans of the Roman auxiliary forces were buried here, primarily in several grave gardens in the south-western part of the cemetery, with their weapons and equipment. These were almost certainly Treveran soldiers who had returned to Wederath after

their years of service, although there is not a single stone inscription naming any of them. Other interesting graves include the oval grave pits between 50 and 75 centimetres in length that appear to have been used for the uncremated remains of very young children who were buried with small ceramic vessels. These pits are found grouped with other graves of adult men and women, quite often within grave garden enclosures. Typically for Roman-period burials in Celtic territory, a rich array of grave goods pertaining to lifetime activities and for use in the afterlife accompanied the burials at Belginum, both in the Iron Age and in the Roman period.

Of the 2,000 Roman burials at Wederath, only sixteen had stone-built monuments. The stone foundations and fragments of blocks and sculpture indicate that at least some of these monuments were of the pseudo-temple type known elsewhere in the Moselle valley bearing an inscription, portraits of family members, and reliefs depicting scenes of daily life. They all date to the late second and third centuries AD. Thirteen of the fifteen funerary monuments made of stone, as well as the six grave gardens enclosed in masonry walls, are located in the southern part of the cemetery, along the main Trier–Mainz road and at the south-western tip of the cemetery where the northern road branches off. The arrangement of grave gardens in rows along the internal cemetery roads is recognizable, but the main overland route, and not the internal roads, was clearly perceived as the best place for permanent stone monuments to be displayed and seen by passing traffic.

This brief synopsis of a vast and interesting provincial cemetery throws light on a variety of aspects of Roman funerary customs. For one thing, the two largest and oldest Iron Age *tumuli* at Wederath (numbers 1 and 2 on Fig. 21) were still respected in the first and second centuries AD, with Roman burials only slightly encroaching on their edges. Clearly there was a respect in this community for some of the still visible graves of the ancestors. In fact, in the centre of each of the two largest *tumuli* the excavators uncovered a pit with stone packing in the bottom which they interpret as the foundations for a large, unworked stone set up in the Roman period to serve as a sort of *stèle*. Although this suggests some sort of continued veneration and maintenance of ancestral tombs of the Iron Age, the anonymous ancestors in the *tumuli* were remembered as a group, not as individuals. Even in the Roman period there were very few people buried in the cemetery who were commemorated as individuals with memorials in stone. Why did so few choose this form of commemoration, and why did so few advertise their status within the community in this way? Might those who did so have been people who had gained experience of the wider Roman world or who were active in commerce or politics outside the community and who wanted to advertise this aspect of their identity? The excavators found relatively large (25–50 centimetres long),

unworked, and uninscribed stones that stood on at least some of the graves. Such stones will have marked the place of a burial, but they will not have indicated who was buried there. Were those who had no markers or no markers with inscriptions forgotten, or did their memory live on in the family and circle of friends, at least for a while? Roman soldiers who died in active service and away from home usually were commemorated with gravestones recording their origins, rank, and age; this includes members of the Treveri at many military bases in Europe (Appendix, No. 6). But at home, in their own community at Belginum, did these Treveran veterans feel no need to publicly advertise their career in the Roman army because their family and friends knew all about it anyway? Furthermore, the fact that very young children were buried properly, with grave goods and all, as integral members of their families and of the community should prompt us to question the accuracy and veracity of some modern (and ancient) ideas on the marginality and relative unimportance of children in Roman society. This is especially so in regions outside Italy that may have had different cultural values.

There are many other cemeteries in the Roman north-west provinces that are informative about the complete or partial adoption of the Roman practice of permanent commemoration. In the area of Saverne (ancient Tres Tabernae) in Alsace in France a number of stone markers a metre or more in height have survived, but of a peculiar triangular type engraved with a human bust or with three engraved circles or a carved rosette.¹⁴ They bear no inscription at all, yet the memory of the dead they commemorated must have lived on in some way, since many of these stones have an opening at the bottom of the main side, used, it is thought, by visitors to the tomb to pour libations in honour of the dead on the many occasions when funerary rites were celebrated. Anonymous stone markers also can be found in Germania Superior on the middle Rhine. The very top section of a stone pyramidal roof of an earlier demolished tomb was reused shortly before the mid-second century as a funerary marker above a cremation burial in the cemetery at Mainz-Weisenau.¹⁵ Two clay jugs were found leaning up against its base, suggesting that libations in memory of the dead were performed at the tomb. The names of any of these individuals can only have been known to the families, or to those who celebrated funerary rites at the tomb, but only as long as they themselves lived.

The foregoing discussion of sites in Campania and the German and northern Gallic provinces indicates that memory was perpetuated in some way by some individuals close to the deceased, and this could involve a permanent marker even if no name was inscribed on it. But there were also those who probably simply could not afford to have any permanent grave

¹⁴ Espérandieu 1907–22: nos. 5684, 5696, 5719, 5722.

¹⁵ Witteyer and Fasold 1995: 33.

marker, and were therefore condemned to oblivion, either immediately or fairly quickly. Mau considered the cremation burials of Augustan and Tiberian date outside the city walls of Pompeii between the Porta Nola and the Porta Sarno to be those of the poor because they were located in close proximity to the city wall on a strip of city-owned public land (*pomerium*) about 30 metres wide. This public land certainly was used for the graves of those whom the community wanted to honour, but presumably also for those who could not afford to purchase a burial plot.¹⁶ About thirty-six urns containing burnt human remains were not marked in any way to signify who was buried there, although individual names inscribed into the outer face of the city wall between these two gates have been associated with the otherwise anonymous burials.¹⁷ One of the inscriptions carved in the wall included a symbol that looks very much like a *columella*, as if the outline of a *columella*, rather than the real thing, may have served to commemorate someone with means far too limited to pay for a freestanding marker.¹⁸ Of course, markers of tombs need not have been made of stone; they could have been made of wood, and inscriptions could have been painted on the surface. But these are far less permanent than stone and they would not have survived very long if exposed to the elements. The names painted on or roughly incised in the plaster walls of some *columbaria* in Rome, or the occasional mosaic pavement with inscriptions in built tombs, such as those at Isola Sacra at Portus, only survived because they were in a sheltered location within the funerary monument.¹⁹

The discovery of miniature pottery vessels inscribed with a minimum of personal information relating to the deceased also raises questions about the preservation of memory, and about the minimum required for a 'proper' burial. About 300 of these tiny jugs (as small as 6 centimetres in height) were found in 1732 in tomb chambers of the late second and early first century BC on the site of the Vigna di S. Cesareo on the ancient stretch of the Via Appia within the Aurelian walls in Rome.²⁰ Whole or fragmentary juglets with

¹⁶ Mau 1899: 421; Kockel 1983: 13; Senatore 1999: 96–9. This public land was also used for the burial of Praetorian guardsmen who happened to be in Pompeii when they died: Senatore 1999: 104–5. Under Vespasian the strip of land c.30 m wide outside the walls of Pompeii was reclaimed as public land after it had been encroached upon and appropriated by private individuals. Four inscriptions outside the Herculaneum, Vesuvian, Noceran, and Marine gates record this activity around AD 76–8 under the supervision of Titus Suedius Clemens: Sertà 1999; Sertà 2001/2; Jacobelli 2001: 44–8, figs. 14–17; Cooley 2003: 30–1.

¹⁷ Senatore 1999: 96–9.

¹⁸ *CIL* IV. 2550, 6/*CIL* X. 8356; Senatore 1999: 99, fig. 7b. For the inscriptions on the city walls, see *CIL* IV. 2494–2502 = *CIL* X. 8349–61.

¹⁹ Feraudi-Gruénais 2003; Calza 1940: 166/Thylander 1952: A235, pl. 68.1 (Tomb 86); Calza 1940: 166–8, fig. 81/Thylander 1952: A280, pl. 82.1–2 (Tomb 42); Calza 1940: 168–9, fig. 82/Thylander 1952: A20, pl. 9.1 (Tomb 30).

²⁰ *CIL* I². 1015–1201/Degrassi 1963: nos. 873–94/Degrassi 1965: nos. 313–16/Friggeri 2001: 67.

similar inscriptions dating to as late as the first century AD have been found in Rome in a *columbarium* on the Via Salaria, in a cemetery on the Esquiline, and at Capena outside Rome.²¹ Each of the vessels bears a brief inscription scratched into the colour-coated surface that gives the name and date of death or burial, or possibly the birthdate, of an individual.²² The names on the vessels reflect people of low social status, including freeborn individuals, freedmen, and slaves. The incised inscriptions are very simple, as one example illustrates (Fig. 22): *IUNIA C F / A D IX K NUEM* (Iunia, daughter of Gaius, [died or] buried nine days before the calends of November).²³ The inclusion of the date of death or burial is very unusual at this time, and was not to become a regular feature of funerary commemoration until much later in Christian epitaphs from the third century AD (see Chapter 10).

In each jug from the Via Appia was a small piece of human bone, usually a finger bone or a bone chip, that possibly represented the entire body in a symbolic way. Where the rest of the cremated body was interred is uncertain. Then again, McKinley's work on cremation in Roman Britain suggests that

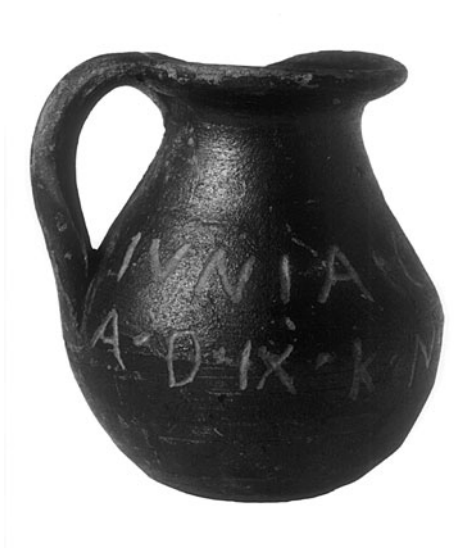


Figure 22. Miniature colour-coated vessel with incised name and date of death from the Via Appia in Rome, late 2nd or early 1st century BC. Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano

²¹ Messineo 2001: 35–8, fig. 2; *CIL* I². 478, 483 = *CIL* XV. 6160, 6166/Degrassi 1965: no. 317; *CIL* I². 1987 = *CIL* XI. 3961a/Degrassi 1963: no. 910.

²² Messineo 2001: 37.

²³ *CIL* I². 1082/Friggeri 2001: 67.

the amount of bone collected for the actual burial after the body was burnt was always far less (40–60 per cent) than the amount to be expected if all of the cremated bone had been collected from the pyre. She suggests that the ‘vast majority, if not all, cremation burials are essentially “token”’, and that the ‘missing’ burnt bone not included in the burial was left with the pyre debris or disposed of in other ways.²⁴ Could the pieces of human bone in the vessels in Rome have been ‘token burials’?

The interment of a fragment of bone in the vessels may correspond to the ancient (and obscure) custom of *os resectum* or *os exceptum*—the severing of bone—performed on a human body before it was cremated.²⁵ Cicero referred to the burial of the severed bone in the earth as the proper rite for cremated bodies, for ‘until turf is cast upon the bones, the place where a body is cremated does not have a sacred character’.²⁶ According to Varro, a corpse was properly buried only if earth was tossed on the funeral pyre or ‘a bone of the dead man has been kept out for the ceremony of purifying the household’ and ‘covered with earth’.²⁷ Thus, the custom of burying a finger bone or some other digit, and burning the rest of the body, would seem to have been introduced to ensure that a body was disposed of in accordance with religious beliefs.

An alternative suggestion for the small vessels in Rome is that they might have held the remains of individuals who died abroad and whose bodies had to be disposed of there, allowing only a fragment of the corpse to be returned to Rome.²⁸ Based on the inclusion of the word *cohors* and/or *centuria* in the brief inscriptions on some of the vessels from the Via Salaria cemetery, Messineo entertained the idea that at least these might have contained the remains of soldiers who died abroad.²⁹ The Via Appia juglets, on the other hand, make no mention of military connections, and there are numerous names of women incised in the vessels.

Whatever the significance of these vessels, the dead partly contained in them were remembered by name through the inscription. The additional

²⁴ McKinley 2000: 42.

²⁵ De Visscher 1963: 23–6; Messineo 2001: 35–7. Friggeri 2001: 67, refers to the bone fragments in the juglets from the Via Appia as being burnt which would suggest that the bone had been separated from the rest of the body after, rather than before, cremation. A possible case of *os resectum* outside Italy is the burial at Civaux (near Vienne on the Rhône) that included the unburnt right foot and metatarsals of the left foot of an individual placed next to a stone chest containing the cremated remains of the rest of the body: Simon-Hiernard 1987.

²⁶ *Laws* 2. 22. 55–6. Horace (*Odes* 1. 28. 2) refers to ‘three handfuls of earth’, and Propertius (*Elegies* 1. 22. 8) to a handful.

²⁷ *On the Latin Language* 5. 23.

²⁸ Messineo 2001: 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

inscribed date indicates that either the date of death/burial or birthday (*dies natalis*) of the deceased was fixed chronologically in the minds and memories of those responsible for burying the dead. Both dates were cause for the performance of commemorative rituals.

In the context of incised inscriptions on pottery, the base of a terra sigillata plate of the late second or early third century AD found in a house in the *vicus* outside the legionary fort at Intercisa in Hungary is also intriguing.³⁰ The external surface of the base is incised 'X KAL OCT MIGRAVI' (passed over on the tenth of the calends of October); the part of the base inscribed with the person's name is broken off. The text clearly refers to the death, and not the birthday or date of burial, of an individual, and it uses a term, *migravit*, that is found frequently on Christian epitaphs to signify that the believer has gone to the Lord (see Chapter 10). What is most interesting is that this plate was found in a house, not in a tomb. Perhaps this vessel was inscribed with the date of death of a loved one and then kept in the house as a memento of that person.

THE ANONYMITY OF THE POOR

The incised pottery vessels from Rome and Intercisa indicate that the memory of individuals was preserved to some extent by the written words relating to the deceased. However, the evidence at a number of Roman sites suggests that burials were often completely anonymous, with no stone marker, no wooden marker, and no painted or inscribed epitaph on any material or vessel. In the Isola Sacra cemetery between Portus and Ostia, approximately 600 burials of the second and third centuries have been found which consist of bodies simply buried in the sandy soil, or in terracotta sarcophagi or buried under a covering of terracotta tiles ('tomba a cappuccina'), or (cremated and) placed in pottery urns with an amphora protruding from the ground on top of them (Fig. 23).³¹ These were not provided with inscribed or painted epitaphs. Guido Calza, the excavator, referred to the concentration of such burials at Isola Sacra as the cemetery of the poor ('campo dei poveri', 'seppellimenti dei poveri').³² This assessment was based on a comparison with the more

³⁰ *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina* 1991: 125, no. 175.

³¹ Baldassare 2001: 389. The cremation urns with a broken amphora on top might be the equivalent of Propertius' 'old wine-jar with a broken neck' on Acanthis' tomb: *Elegies* 4. 5. 75–6.

³² Calza 1940: 44, figs. 9–10. See also Ortalli 1987: 155, on the 'povere sepolture in tegole' in Sarsina. E. J. Graham, in her Ph.D. thesis, defines who the 'poor' are and discusses their burial: 'Burial of the Urban Poor in Italy in the Late Republic and Early Empire' (University of Sheffield, 2005).



Figure 23. Anonymous burials marked by the upper parts of amphorae between the house-tombs and small barrel tombs in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus

substantial and elaborate brick-built house-tombs for cremation and inhumation burials with their accompanying marble inscriptions. Since then it has become clear that there was no particular area exclusively for poor burials at Isola Sacra or anywhere else, rather that they were scattered throughout Roman cemeteries. Anonymous burials of the type at Isola Sacra are known at many other sites in Aquileia in north-east Italy, on the Via Triumphalis in Rome, and at Gubbio in Umbria, to name just a few.³³

These burials were not the only ‘anonymous’ ones at Portus. Several second- and third-century house-tombs in the Isola Sacra cemetery contain niches for cremation and inhumation burials that were sealed with marble slabs on which no text at all was inscribed. The same is true of most house-tombs in the Vatican necropolis under St Peter’s basilica in Rome. The main epitaph panel on the exterior of the tomb names the tomb-owner and his immediate family, and states that the tomb was also intended as the last resting place of the family’s freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants. The likeliest candidates for the occupants of the nameless niches, according to Eck, are the slaves who were buried with their owner.³⁴ Unlike the freedmen,

³³ Reusser 1987: 247–8; Steinby 1987; Cipollone 2002: 136 (tomb 100), fig. 125. See also such tombs in Leptis Magna in North Africa: Fontana 2001: 164.

³⁴ Eck 1987: 65–74. Heinzelmann 2000: 98–9, cites a tomb enclosure of c.80–50 BC outside the Porta Romana at Ostia that is one of the earliest examples of a monument constructed for the

they are not even mentioned in the main epitaph panel on the exterior of the tomb.

How long did the memory of these individuals survive and who knew who was buried here? Did the memory of the dead survive only through rituals such as the pouring of libations and the celebration of funerary meals in honour of the dead? Such ceremonies are largely traceless, if no permanent provision for dining or libations has survived. Both dining at the tomb and facilities for the pouring of libations are anyway not attested prior to the late first century BC. From the first century AD, however, lead pipes or the necks of amphorae stacked on top of each other were commonly used to form a tube leading to the cremation urn below (Fig. 24).³⁵ Also from the first century AD, visitors to the tomb who consumed commemorative and ritual meals needed dining couches and tables, but furniture such as this in stone or in masonry is relatively rare in the archaeological record (Fig. 25). Presumably funerary meals took place, for example, in the cemetery on the Via Salaria in Rome, because there is epigraphic evidence for communal kitchens there, but no masonry dining couches have been found in the cemetery.³⁶ Perhaps portable furniture was brought in and taken away again, leaving no trace. Permanent provisions for cooking, in the form of permanent masonry ovens is very rare, the brick oven next to Tomb 16 of the second century at the Isola Sacra cemetery outside Portus being a fine example.³⁷ Otherwise, cooking might have been done on a temporary hearth, as is suggested by the remains of the occasional ground-level hearth made of stones (and still filled with charcoal upon excavation) within the precinct walls of some tombs in the Porta Nocera cemetery at Pompeii.³⁸

By the same token, we cannot know exactly how the banquet ritual was structured or performed, nor do we know what was said. Did the participants reminisce and tell stories about the deceased, or was the meal just a drunken

wider *familia*. It includes thirty cremation burials in urns without any markers or painted inscriptions referring to the identity of the individuals. Only four of the burials contained a set of grave goods. This may reflect a difference in social status between the core family and the family's dependants and/or slaves. He also suggests (p. 101) that the unmarked *formae* under the floors of the tombs in the 2nd cent. AD were used for the inhumation burials of freedmen and slaves.

³⁵ Caerleon: Wheeler 1929; Vindolanda: Blake 2003: 11–12, fig. 17; Arles: Sintès 1996: cat. no. 142; Rimini: Ortalli 2001: 229–33, figs. 9, 14–16; Acilia (Malafede-Fralana): Falzone *et al.* 2001: 129–30, figs. 3–4; Gubbio: Cipollone 2002: 25–6, figs. 23–4; 29–30, figs. 26–8; 226, figs. 220–1. On the subject in general, see Wolski and Berciu 1973.

³⁶ Cupito 2001: 51. On banquets and provision for dining in the cemeteries of Ostia, see Heinzelmann 2000: 69–72.

³⁷ Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 39, fig. 11. On dining and identity at the Isola Sacra cemetery, see Graham 2005: 136–42.

³⁸ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 210 (Tomb F North), 220 (Area D South).

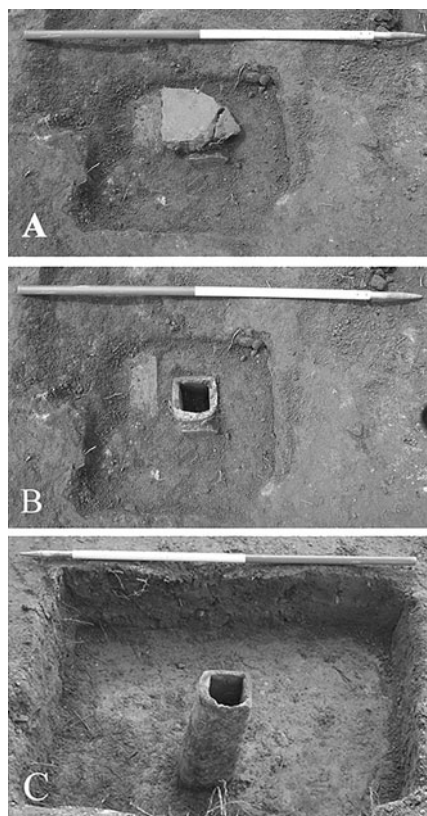


Figure 24. Libation tube made of a recycled box tile and covered with a flat tile above a cremation burial of the 2nd century AD at Vindolanda at three stages of excavation. The Vindolanda Trust

free-for-all? The by-laws of various burial clubs, discussed in Chapter 2, certainly refer to the consumption of wine (and even the ‘entrance fee’ of an amphora of wine in the case of the *collegium* at Lanuvium), and there were fines to be paid if one did not behave properly at the banquets. But the meals themselves as recorded were frugal, as one might expect with club members of humble status. Archaeological remains of meals consumed in cemeteries range from shells of oyster and other shellfish found in the tomb enclosure of Terentius Felix at Pompeii to part of a loaf of bread that had been tossed on the pyre during the funeral meal at Duppach in the Moselle valley.³⁹ The

³⁹ Mau 1899: 406; Henrich and Tabaczek 2002: 70, fig. 5. Food burnt on the funeral pyre could include fruit, such as dates and figs, cereals, pine nuts, chestnuts, and various meats: Mackensen 1978: 172–7 (Kempten); Mackinder 2000: 12 (Watling Street, London). Ortalli 2001: 231, fig. 12, mentions the remains of a meal (?) consisting (upon excavation) of a deposit of animal bones on a marble slab that was used as a sort of table in a cemetery on the Via Flaminia in Rimini.



Figure 25. Double dining couch (*biclinium*) used for funerary banquets in front of the tomb of Veria Zosima (Tomb 29) in the Isola Sacra cemetery in Portus

(partially preserved) meals on both these sites and the meals outlined in the charters of burial clubs are very unlike the funerary banquet celebrated on the ninth day after the death of a slave of Scissa, portrayed in Petronius' *Satyricon*.⁴⁰ This slave had been freed on his deathbed, and was apparently worth a fortune. The feast involved roast pig, roast bear meat, beetroot, bread, cake, honey, mashed chickpeas, lupines, nuts, apples, cheese, snails, tripe, liver, turnip, and pickled olives, as well as ample amounts of wine. The only reference in the story to the connection between the banquet and the dead man are the drinks begrudgingly poured over the (cremated) bones of the deceased by the guests. Perhaps more opulent than the meals consumed by burial clubs (although the food has not survived) were those consumed at the early second-century burial of an individual at Horath near Trier in Gallia Belgica, and at the interment of a woman (Grave 3) around AD 200 in Wehringen near Augsburg in Raetia.⁴¹ Both tombs are associated with a family farmstead. At Horath, over 140 objects that were used at the funeral feast, including dozens of plates, bowls, dishes, and wine jugs made of ceramic, glass wine bottles, and earthenware wine amphorae, were thrown on the pyre before being swept up and deposited in the burial pit beneath the *tumulus*. At Wehringen, about 200 objects, including a wide variety of vessels

⁴⁰ *Satyricon* 65–6.

⁴¹ Cüppers 1990: 396, fig. 306; Nuber 2000: 166–8, fig. 140; Czych et al. 1995: 532–3, fig. 236.

and equipment, were used for the funerary banquet and subsequently burnt on the pyre. These include at least 24 ceramic beakers; sets of platters, plates, and bowls made of glass; at least 35 ceramic baking dishes of different forms and sizes; at least five pottery cooking pots and *mortaria*; three sets of bronze jugs and handled bowls for hand-washing; three bronze basins for foot-washing; three bronze wine jugs; six bronze pitchers with lids for hot water; and three pairs of bronze wine sieves and handled bowls. Even the dining furniture consisting of three bronze folding tables was burnt on the pyre. The recurring number three, especially in the metal vessels and the furniture, suggests that there were three groups of participants in the feast at Wehringen. As interesting as these assemblages are as a source of information on (archaeologically) ephemeral ceremonies in honour of the dead, however, such activities during or after burial do not provide evidence of a will to be remembered the same way that texts in stone do. The only people who would remember the funeral feast staged to see the deceased off in a rite of passage into the next world would be those who were invited guests. Inscriptions on tombs spoke to a larger group of individuals, including complete strangers; funeral banquets did not.

I have highlighted in Chapter 2 how public funerary monuments and inscriptions were. Such visible commemoration would have been important to those who, in life, were active in the public sphere. For those who never were wealthy or important enough to have held public offices or similar honours, but who had carved out a niche for themselves in the working world of the lower classes, a sense of claiming one's place amongst equals must have been given by possessing a stone marker that at least gave the name and perhaps the occupation of the deceased.⁴² But for the very poor there had been no particularly public or illustrious place in society to claim; this situation did not change in death. Nevertheless, for the family of such individuals the social interaction at the burial site and the habitual and ritual consumption of meals in honour of the apparently anonymous dead must have helped to sustain memory, even if we cannot measure its extent or longevity.

Great numbers of individuals in Roman cities must have been buried or disposed of in a completely anonymous manner, particularly, but not only, in Rome. Bodel calculated that at least 1,500 unclaimed and unwanted corpses may have had to be dealt with annually in the capital.⁴³ A law of the colony at Luceria (*lex Lucerina*), established in the central part of southern Italy in 314 BC,

⁴² On occupational titles in epitaphs and their role in constructing identity, see Joshel 1992: 49–61.

⁴³ Bodel 2000: 129.

marks off an area within an active cemetery that was to become public land free of burials. The law forbids the dumping of refuse (*stercus*), the abandoning of corpses (*cadavera*), and the celebration of rites for the dead in this area.⁴⁴ The wording suggests that it was not uncommon to dispose of the dead in a very unceremonious way. Archaeological evidence for such undignified disposal of bodies was retrieved in 1876 on the Esquiline hill in Rome. In that year, Rodolfo Lanciani excavated seventy-five large tufa-lined shafts four to five metres square and ten metres deep that had been used at least since the second century BC for the disposal of corpses.⁴⁵ Hundreds of burnt and unburnt human and animal cadavers, as well as other refuse, had been dumped in each of these shafts. Moreover, masses of bodies (24,000 according to Lanciani, about 60,000–64,000 according to Bodel) just north of the Esquiline gate had been thrown into the nearby ditch associated with the so-called Servian wall that had encircled the city of Rome since the early fourth century BC.⁴⁶

These shafts on the Esquiline are traditionally connected with written sources of the first century BC pertaining to the paupers' burial ground in that sector of Rome. Varro refers to little pits (*puticuli*) outside towns where people used to be buried, and he makes particular mention of these in 'the public burial place which is beyond the Esquiline'.⁴⁷ In these open pits, discarded corpses (*cadavera*) were left to rot. It is anything but certain that Varro's *puticuli* are to be equated with the stone-lined shafts excavated by Lanciani, but both may have been used for the burial of the urban poor and destitute, and possibly in part for the disposal of victims of periodical epidemics, or even occasionally criminals (when they were not thrown into the Tiber). That there was a place for the disposal of the poor is suggested by Horace's verses on the burial grounds on the Esquiline written in 35 BC, although he uses the word *commune sepulcrum* (common burial place) rather than *puticuli*.⁴⁸

Hither in bygone days a slave would pay to have carried on a cheap bier the carcasses of his fellows, cast out from their narrow cells. Here was the common burial place fixed for pauper folk, for Pantabolus the parasite, and spendthrift Nomentanus. Here a pillar assigned a thousand feet frontage and three hundred of depth, and provided that the graveyard should pass to no heirs.

Some time around 40 BC, Gaius Maecenas, trusted friend of Augustus, covered this burial site over and transformed the property into his luxury gardens, the *Horti Maecenatiani*.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Bodel 1994: 2–3, 54–9.

⁴⁵ Lanciani 1888: 64–7.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 66; Bodel 2000: n. 3.

⁴⁷ *On the Latin Language* 5. 25.

⁴⁸ *Satires* 1. 8. 8–13.

⁴⁹ Horace, *Satires* 1. 8. 14–16; Propertius, *Elegies* 4. 8. 1–2. On the gardens, see Häuber 1990, 1998; *LTUR* 3, 1996, 70–4 (Häuber).

Outside the ancient Servian wall between the Esquiline gate and the more northerly Viminal gate, and approximately 200 metres beyond the embankment (*agger*) of the Servian wall, three massive travertine boundary stones of the early first century BC were found that preserved the inscribed texts of a praetor's edict.⁵⁰ These boundary stones, or *cippi*, regulated the use of public land in the area, and they marked 'the extent of ground which must be kept absolutely free from dirt and from carcasses and corpses'. Likewise, the burning of corpses was strictly forbidden. Bodel concluded that official legislation had been necessary to put an end to the serious problem of the illegal dumping of corpses and rubbish, not only in the paupers' section of the Esquiline hill, but also in areas further to the east and north of the *agger* where some members of the nobility had erected their tombs.⁵¹ The archaeological evidence indicates that Lanciani's burial shafts had been buried under a layer of soil, rubble, and building debris of the early first century BC, probably as a further attempt after the praetor's edict to close down the pestilent area. But activities involving the disposal of the dead still must have occurred in the area, because another later stone with the text of a *senatus consultum* restricting the construction of pyres and crematoria in the district known as the *pagus Montanus* was discovered inserted in this rubble layer immediately outside and just to the north of the Esquiline gate.⁵² Bodel disassociates Lanciani's burial shafts closed down in the early first century BC from Horace's *commune sepulcrum* covered over by the *Horti Maecenatiani*.⁵³ The former lay to the north of the Esquiline gate, the latter occupied a zone to the south of the gate, and it must have been used for the disposal of corpses right until the gardens were laid out if we are to believe Horace's remarks on the bleached bones strewn around that one could still see shortly before that.

Although the Esquiline burial grounds and the process of disposing of the urban poor in Republican Rome are still not entirely understood, the contents of the shafts and the inscriptions relating to the cemetery shed light on the lack of ceremony in disposing of the destitute and the low regard in which they were held. Unclaimed and abandoned human corpses were equated with rubbish. In a situation such as this, there was absolutely no provision made for any kind of memorial, no marker with any details of name, age, or origin.

⁵⁰ *CIL* I². 838 = *CIL* VI. 31614; *CIL* I². 839 = *CIL* VI. 31615; *CIL* I². 2981.

⁵¹ Bodel 1994: 42–51. Kyle 1998: 163–8, also discusses the Esquiline cemetery, largely basing his remarks on Bodel's interpretations. Official legislation also forbade the burying or burning of bodies within the boundaries of the Flavian colony at Urso in Spain: Crawford 1996: 393–453 (chs. LXXIII and LXXIV).

⁵² *CIL* I². 591.

⁵³ Bodel 1994: 51–4.

It remains unclear where the very poor were buried in Rome after the burial grounds on the Esquiline had been closed down. Lanciani believed that the *columbaria* were introduced into Rome for the poor at about the same time the public cemeteries on the Esquiline went out of use.⁵⁴ The number of *columbaria*, and therefore the number of burial niches or *ollae*, available in the late first century BC is difficult to estimate, but Purcell seriously doubted that there could have been enough *columbaria* to accommodate all the urban poor.⁵⁵ For Purcell this type of tomb developed out of the increasing numbers of slaves and freedmen employed by Roman aristocratic families, those families acting as benefactors by providing a place for burial for their dependants. Interment in a *columbarium*, at any rate, must have been a far preferable alternative, not only for reasons of public hygiene, but also because those buried in this way generally appear to have had at least a modest plaque or marker preserving their name for posterity. Bodel, on the basis of Roman literary sources, suggests that in the second half of the first century BC and in the early Empire mass cremation in public crematoria beyond the city might have replaced the mass inhumation of the poor, as it had been practised on the Esquiline.⁵⁶

If we are considering the burial of the poor, it is essential to evaluate information on the cost of a memorial. Cost details occasionally are given on inscribed stones in Italy and in North Africa. Duncan-Jones calculated the median average price of funerary monuments in North Africa and Italy at 1,380 and 10,000 sesterii respectively, but the bottom range of simple memorials in stone varies from 96 sesterii at Lambaesis to 250–600 sesterii in Italy.⁵⁷ A second-century brick-built tomb twenty square metres in size in the necropolis under St Peter's basilica in Rome (Tomb A) cost 6,000 sesterii.⁵⁸ A very tiny plot of one-and-a-half square Roman feet in Rome was bought by a slave of Agrippa for 120 sesterii.⁵⁹ When members of the first-century cult of Silvanus on the Via Salaria in Rome died, a sum of 560 sesterii was taken from the society's funds to pay for the funeral.⁶⁰ The cost of a funeral for members of the burial club of Lanuvium in the early second century was 250

⁵⁴ Lanciani 1892: 256–7.

⁵⁵ Purcell 1987: 39.

⁵⁶ Bodel 2000: 133–5. Kyle 1998: 169–70, doubts the existence of public crematoria, suggesting that they would have been impractical, inefficient, and a fire hazard to the city.

⁵⁷ Duncan-Jones 1974: 79–80, 127–31. There are rare examples elsewhere: Szentendre (Hungary): 300 HS (*RIU* 3: no. 898); Arlon (Belgium): 4000 HS (*CIL* XIII. 4021).

⁵⁸ *AE* 1945: 136/Gordon 1983: 142–3; Von Hesberg 1992: 10.

⁵⁹ *CIL* VI. 21866.

⁶⁰ Friggeri 2001: 174.

sestertii, plus the cremation fee of 50 sestertii.⁶¹ This sum corresponds to Nerva's funeral allowance of 250 sestertii for the urban plebs in Rome in the late first century AD.⁶²

For the very poor who could not pay even the membership fees in a burial club, and who perhaps did not qualify for one reason or another for the burial allowance instituted by Nerva, an unmarked grave was unavoidable. The anonymous burials of the second and third centuries in the Isola Sacra cemetery in Portus, consisting of uninscribed urns set in the ground, are the sort of burials which Saller and Shaw relate to the municipal laws governing the modest costs paid to public undertakers (*libitinarii*) at Puteoli and Cumae.⁶³ According to the law regulating contracts for funerary concessions preserved in an inscription from Puteoli, 60 sestertii per corpse was the fine to be paid to the undertaker by anyone caught abandoning dead bodies in the first half of the first century BC. Bodel, in a recent study on the funerary trade at Puteoli and Cumae, has suggested that this sum might represent damages and compensation to the undertaker forced to deal with an abandoned corpse, and that the simplest disposal of a body (transport to the place of burial and cremation) properly arranged with the undertaker might have cost only 20 sestertii.⁶⁴ The cremation of the body of a *collegium* member at Lanuvium, however, cost more than double this (50 sestertii), but there is a time difference of two hundred years between the documents from Puteoli and Lanuvium, so perhaps prices had risen. The small amount of 20 sestertii postulated by Bodel would have been far too small to cover any 'extras', some of which, such as the renting of an altar, additional pall bearers, incense, or musicians, are listed with prices in the Puteolan inscription. The sum certainly would not have included any kind of memorial or personalized grave marker, and so these individuals were buried anonymously. Without a name provided at the place of interment, the dead buried in this manner suffered a loss of self and were forgotten. Taylor has suggested that the poor 'were little interested in having their names survive', but it appears more likely that it was unfortunate circumstance and the lack of even modest means that resulted in anonymous burial and what the younger Pliny called 'the injustice of oblivion'.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *CIL* XIV. 2112/*ILS* 7212/Duncan-Jones 1974: 131/Flambard 1987: 225–34/Friggeri 2001: 175–6.

⁶² Duncan-Jones 1974: 131.

⁶³ Saller and Shaw 1984: 128 n. 23. On the inscription from Puteoli referring to such public undertakers, see *AE* 1971: 88; Bodel 1994: 15–18, 72–80.

⁶⁴ Bodel 2004: 160.

⁶⁵ Taylor 1961: 131; Pliny, *Letters* 3. 5. 4.

PROTECTION AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF MEMORIALS

If one *could* afford to have a funerary monument, it was protected by law against disturbance, and the removal or defacement of the monument was seen as an act which snuffed out the memory of the dead.⁶⁶ Once a body was buried, the site became a *locus religiosus*, and the grave was an object of religious veneration.⁶⁷ Pliny the Younger, in his capacity as the governor of Bithynia, wrote a letter to the emperor Trajan to ask permission on behalf of citizens who wanted to relocate family graves because the changing course of a river was threatening their remains or because their monuments had fallen into disrepair.⁶⁸ The emperor as Pontifex Maximus was the only one who had the authority to change the sacred status of the endangered cemetery and thereby allow the bodies to be moved.

The fear of violation and disturbance of the tomb and the body is clearly apparent in many epitaphs. A common phrase in the city of Rome, was *huic monumento dolus malus abesto* (let this monument be free from intentional desecration).⁶⁹ Epitaphs can express the wish that anyone damaging the tomb not be received by the gods, or that the desecrator live for a long time in bodily pain.⁷⁰ Measures were taken to safeguard the dead, the funerary monument, and the burial plot. The epitaph of a centurion from the Roman fort at Watercrock in north-west Britain contains a warning not to bury another corpse on the grave site.⁷¹ An inscription on a large Travertine limestone panel from Ostia reads as follows: 'Lucius Cocceius Adiutor built (this) for himself and declares that no one should burn or bury a body on the left side as one enters. If he does so, he shall pay 50,000 sesterii to the city of Ostia' (Fig. 26). The inscription concludes by stating that whoever notifies the authorities of such misuse shall receive one quarter of the fine as a reward.⁷²

Changes to the epitaph itself also were considered a violation (see Appendix, No. 2). The intentional, and perhaps vindictive, erasure of a name on a sepulchral inscription meant the eradication of the memory of that individual. *Damnatio memoriae*, the eradication after death of the name and image, and thus the memory, of an individual was a device occasionally used for

⁶⁶ Book 47. 12 of the *Digest* deals extensively with the violation of tombs.

⁶⁷ Cicero, *Laws* 2. 21. 54; *Digest* 11. 7. 2. 5.

⁶⁸ *Letters* 10. 68–9.

⁶⁹ *CIL* VI. 11022, 11913, 12133, 14579, 19844.

⁷⁰ *CIL* VI. 7579/*ILS* 8190; *CIL* VI. 36467/*ILS* 8184.

⁷¹ *RIB* 754.

⁷² *CIL* XIV. 850. Another epitaph in Aquileia offers the informer the same proportion of the fine of HS 20,000: *CIL* V. 952/*ILS* 8239.



Figure 26. Inscription of Lucius Cocceius Adiutor in Ostia threatening a fine of HS 50,000 for unauthorized burial in his tomb

hated emperors and deposed officials. According to Suetonius, for example, after the death of the emperor Domitian in AD 96 his images were ‘torn down . . . and dashed upon the ground’, and the senators ‘passed a decree that his inscriptions should everywhere be erased, and all record of him obliterated’.⁷³ Evidence for the eradication of the memory of an individual also comes from a decree of the senate in AD 20 condemning Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso for treason.⁷⁴ Piso’s busts and statues were to be removed, his mask was not to be displayed at any of the family’s funerals or in the family’s home, and his name was to be erased from inscriptions. His memory was utterly condemned. Removing a name or an image to achieve this occasionally has its equivalent in private funerary monuments (see Chapters 4, 7). The inscription on the tomb of Sextius Nerianus Romulus in Rome reads: ‘If anyone alters this inscription in an attempt to bring into this tomb the body, bones, or ashes of another family, he shall not have access and shall have to pay to the treasury of the Roman people the sum of 50,000 sesterii.’⁷⁵ The epitaph on the tomb of Marcus Popilius Zosimianus and his parents in Rome warns that ‘if anyone violates this monument or effaces the epitaph of those whose names are inscribed, he shall pay to the treasury of the Roman people the

⁷³ Suetonius, *Domitian* 23. Funerary inscriptions with erased names include *CIL* VI. 19915; *CIL* X. 6493/*ILS* 7483; *CIL* XII. 4795.

⁷⁴ Flower 1996: 23–8; Potter 1998: 437–57; Bodet 1999.

⁷⁵ *CIL* VI. 22915.

sum of 20,000 sesterii.⁷⁶ These are all aggressive warnings that threaten legal consequences, but a rather different epitaph from Xanten on the German lower Rhine contains a more personal and touching wish that the tomb not be disturbed.⁷⁷ In this epitaph, dating to the period before AD 78, the sister and heir of the cavalryman Silvanus had the letter-cutter write: 'The only sister of a dear brother begs you not to damage or desecrate this work'.

From the second century, the phrase *sub ascia dedicavit* (dedicated while still under the hammer) and/or the carving of an *ascia*, a tool used for cutting and dressing stone, appears particularly frequently in funerary epitaphs in Lyon and the Rhône valley (see Appendix, Nos. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12–14, 18; Fig. 9).⁷⁸ The *ascia* may symbolically signify that the stone marker, with its accompanying burial, had become a *locus religiosus*, although once a body was put in the grave the site had this status anyway. It was suggested by Hatt that this is a reflection of a rite of dedication to render the tomb inviolable and to place it under divine protection.⁷⁹ De Visscher interpreted the *ascia* dedication formula as a device to signify the exclusivity of the tomb for the person or people named in the epitaph, barring it from use by external individuals.⁸⁰

Violation of the tomb not only involved serious infringements such as the disturbance of the human remains or the alteration of the monument. Pliny the Younger's remarks about the state of the tomb of Verginius Rufus indicate that neglect was another factor affecting the preservation of memory.⁸¹ Verginius Rufus, who died in AD 97, had left instructions for the following text to be inscribed: 'Here lies Rufus, who once defeated Vindex and set free the imperial power. Not for himself, but for his country.' Pliny was particularly upset by the fact that in AD 106 this tomb still had no inscription at all. Forgotten memorials prompted the emperor Tiberius to say that 'marble monuments, if the verdict of posterity is unfriendly, are mere neglected sepulchres'.⁸² On his death in 212 BC, Archimedes received a tomb in Syracuse, but when Cicero visited the tomb in 75 BC he found it very neglected: it was almost completely hidden behind bushes and some of the inscription had worn away.⁸³ Ausonius, writing in the fourth century, lamented the fact that the decay of stone memorials and

⁷⁶ *CIL* VI. 24799/*ILS* 8220.

⁷⁷ *CIL* XIII. 8655/Krier 1981: 39.

⁷⁸ Lyon: *CIL* XIII. 1822, 1824, 1830, 1851, 1877, 1945; Arles: *CIL* XII. 784; Valence: *CIL* XII. 1754, 1755, 1760, 1761, 1768, 1772; Vienne: *CIL* XII. 1871, 1874, 1898, 1916, 1921. The *ascia* appears rarely in Britain: *RIB* 163, and Germany: *CIL* XIII. 8424/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 404; *CIL* XIII. 8118/*CSIR* III. 2. 29; *CIL* XIII. 8002; and occasionally in Rome: *CIL* VI. 12542; *CIL* VI. 13738; *CIL* VI. 20465/*CIL* VI. Suppl. *Imagines* 1999: no. 1185.

⁷⁹ Hatt 1951: 85–107.

⁸⁰ De Visscher 1963: 285. For a more recent, but similar discussion, see Audin 1986: 23–31.

⁸¹ *Letters* 6. 10. 3–5, 9. 19.

⁸² Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 38; see also Juvenal, *Satires* 10. 142–6.

⁸³ *Tusculan Disputations* 5. 64–6.

the disintegration of the letters carved on them meant that ‘death comes to the stones and the names on them’.⁸⁴ Both Horace and Propertius were mindful of the effects of rain, wind, fire, and age on funerary monuments.⁸⁵ The texts of epitaphs reveal that, for whatever reason, some tombs needed to be repaired.⁸⁶ According to the Roman jurists, it was forbidden to let tombs deteriorate, but their ruling that it was permissible to rebuild a monument if it had collapsed indicates that tombs were not always maintained.⁸⁷

But there were other forms of desecration apart from neglect, and the decay of tombs could be related to more than exposure to the elements. The inscription on the tomb of Gaius Annidienus Marcellus in Rome warns ‘Do not piss here’ (*ne quis hic urina*), and someone scratched a graffito on a tomb of the first century AD in the Porta Nocera cemetery at Pompeii that said ‘Atimetus got me pregnant’.⁸⁸ Election notices, advertisements for gladiatorial shows, and other graffiti and doodles were painted in red letters on several tombs on the roads outside the gates of Pompeii, although there are words of protest and warning included in epitaphs against such activity (Fig. 27).⁸⁹ The



Figure 27. Election campaign slogans and announcements for gladiatorial games painted in red letters on the tomb of Lucius Tullius in the Porta Nocera cemetery outside Pompeii, second half of 1st century BC

⁸⁴ *Epitaphs* 32.

⁸⁵ Horace, *Odes* 3. 10; Propertius, *Elegies* 3. 2.

⁸⁶ *CIL* VI. 13188, 18079, 18080.

⁸⁷ *Digest* 47. 12. 7.

⁸⁸ *CIL* VI. 3413/*ILS* 8203; *CIL* IV. 10231.

⁸⁹ Porta Nocera: *CIL* IV. 10218–49; *CIL* IV. 3857–82; *CIL* IV. 9936–86; D’Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: tombs 9ES, 11OS, 17OS, 23OS, 29OS, 31OS, 4EN, 10EN, 14EN, 30EN, 42EN;

fictional freedman Trimalchio intended to have a custodian posted at his tomb so that, in his words, 'the public doesn't come and crap on my memorial'.⁹⁰ According to Martial, thieves, beggars, and prostitutes frequented the cemeteries, carrying out their rather shady activities amongst the *monumenta*, and Petronius recounts the story of a couple regularly having sex in a tomb.⁹¹ Appian mentions several individuals who during the Civil Wars in the first century BC were forced to flee or went into hiding, making use, among other things, of tombs as places of refuge.⁹²

THE REUSE AND DISPOSAL OF FUNERARY MONUMENTS

Perhaps, in the end, no amount of legislation, threats, or pleas could guarantee that the eternal resting place and the memory of the dead was not disturbed. By the time Livy in the late first century BC saw the tomb of Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior in Liternum, the statue of Africanus, who had died in 183, had already fallen from its base in a storm.⁹³ Numerous tombs of the first century AD on the roads outside the gates of Ostia were demolished in the early second century to make way for new tombs for an increasing number of newcomers to the city.⁹⁴ Once the Aurelian walls were built to protect Rome in the late third century, older tombs that had until that time been outside the city now either were incorporated into the circuit walls or were within the city limits and abandoned or built over.⁹⁵ At the 'Favorite I' site outside Lyon earlier cremation burials were frequently cut by subsequent inhumation burials, but there were also numerous intercuttings between contemporary burials.⁹⁶ Sarcophagi were broken open in antiquity with no respect for the bodies in them. At some point, grave robbers broke two large holes into the front of a marble sarcophagus of the mid-third century in Arles to gain access to the goods inside the container.⁹⁷

D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: tombs A North, D North; Porta Vesuvio: *CIL* IV. 9161–73; Spano 1910: 390, 402–4, 407–8; Porta Ercolano: *CIL* IV. 1182. Graffiti on Pompeian tombs is discussed by Maulucci Vivolo 1993; Franklin 1991; and Cooley and Cooley 2004: 54–7. See also such graffiti at Puteoli, *CIL* X. 2641. For warnings against posting signs on tombs, see *CIL* VI. 14313/*ILS* 8205; *CIL* XI. 575/*ILS* 8206; *ILS* 8207a; *CIL* XI. 4126.

⁹⁰ Petronius, *Satyricon* 71.

⁹¹ Martial, *Epigrams* 1. 34. 8, 3. 93. 15; Petronius, *Satyricon* 111.

⁹² Appian, *Civil Wars* 4. 36, 4. 44, 4. 47.

⁹³ *History of Rome* 38. 56. 2–4.

⁹⁴ Heinzelmann 2001b: 381.

⁹⁵ Patterson 2000: 95–7.

⁹⁶ Tranoy 2000: 167.

⁹⁷ Sintès 1996: cat. no. 153.

Furthermore, funerary monuments and tombstones were reused and recycled everywhere in the empire, both for later burials and for buildings that had nothing to do with cemeteries (Fig. 28). Within a couple of decades in the first half of the first century AD, the inscribed stone of a freedman was reused for the auxiliary soldier Molaecus in Mainz, the name of the freedman having been erased.⁹⁸ The second-century gravestone of Gaius Iulius Maternus and his wife Maria Marcellina from Cologne was turned around and the reverse reinscribed around 270 by another couple, Liberalinus Probinus and Barbarinia Accepta.⁹⁹ The first-century gravestone of a soldier in Mainz was later hollowed out to form a makeshift sarcophagus, and the contemporary gravestone of Publius Flavoleius Cordus was reused as a lid for it.¹⁰⁰ The large *stèle* of Marcia Donata from Milan, who died in Narbonne in the first century AD, also was reused and recut later to form the lid of a sarcophagus.¹⁰¹ Fifth-century Christian burials in Sitten (or Sion, in French) on the Rhône in Switzerland made use of pagan gravestones of the first to third centuries as



Figure 28. Marble funerary epitaph later used in the 4th century AD as a paving stone at the bottom of a pool in the so-called Domus dei Pesci, Ostia

⁹⁸ *CSIR* II. 5. 63/Selzer 1988: 92.

⁹⁹ *CIL* XIII. 8267a–b/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 196.

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* XIII. 7258/*CSIR* II. 5. 49/Selzer 1988: 79; *CIL* XIII. 7255/*CSIR* II. 5. 2/Selzer 1988: 26.

¹⁰¹ *AE* 1940: 25/Wierschowski 2001: no. 2.

sarcophagus lids or as recycled material for the construction of cist graves.¹⁰² The large circular mausoleum of Marcus Lucilius Paetus and Lucilia Polla built in 20 BC on the Via Salaria in Rome was reused at the end of the fourth century by Christians for their burials, in the process of which the portrait busts of the original occupants were thrown down and the walls hollowed out for new burials.¹⁰³ The reuse of pagan monuments in Christian cemeteries is a common phenomenon (see Chapter 10), despite legislation by Theodosius and Valentinian III in the fourth and fifth centuries against the demolition and spoliation of tombs, particularly by the clergy for the building of churches.¹⁰⁴

It is also quite common in the western empire to find funerary monuments and tombstones dismantled, broken up and reused as building material, particularly when stone was needed rather urgently. In the late third and fourth centuries many of the civilian and military fortifications on the Moselle and Rhine rivers incorporated funerary monuments dating to the first three centuries AD, and the builders of the early fourth-century walls of the fort at Chester in north-west Britain made ample reuse of Roman tombstones, including those carved as recently as the third century.¹⁰⁵ The late Roman city walls of Narbonne were built partly with reused worked stone, including numerous whole *stelae* and fragments from mausolea and funerary altars. These same funerary monuments were extracted from the late Roman walls by the builders of a new city wall in the sixteenth century, and it is due to the demolition of the latter in the late nineteenth century that so many of Narbonne's funerary monuments have survived.¹⁰⁶ It is uncertain whether in the late Roman period there were any family or descendants living to tend to the earlier tombs, or whether, as has been suggested for Cologne, cemeteries were occasionally cleared of old and possibly neglected monuments and the stones stored as *spolia* to be sold and reused in later building projects.¹⁰⁷ Regardless of the extent of loss, Hopkins has rightly pointed out that 'the fact that even now we can study so many Roman tombstones and epitaphs testifies to Roman success in securing a lasting commemoration for their dead'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Lehner 1987: 149, fig. 8.

¹⁰³ *CIL* VI. 32932; Eisner 1986: 124–7, pl. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Coates-Stephens 2002: 281.

¹⁰⁵ Cüppers 1990: 403–5 (Jünkerath), 492–4 (Neumagen); Drack and Felmann 1988 (Kaiser-augst) 411–13; Carroll-Spillecke 1993: 382–4 (Cologne-Deutz); Mason 2001: 166–88, 199–204 (Chester). The late Roman city walls of Saintes in Aquitania also were constructed with numerous dismantled monuments with inscriptions: *ILA* Santons, pp. 45–58 (Maurin). On the recycling of stone from monuments from the 3rd cent. AD onwards in Rome, see Kinney 1997.

¹⁰⁶ Gayraud 1981: 7.

¹⁰⁷ Neu 1989: 356; Carroll-Spillecke 1993: 384.

¹⁰⁸ Hopkins 1983: 255.

Selecting a Monument

Blussus, son of Atusirus, shipper, seventy-five years old, here he lies. Meni-mane, daughter of Brigio, aged . . . , his wife, had this stone made during her own lifetime.

(Funerary inscription of the mid-first century AD from Mainz-Weisenau: CIL XIII. 7067/Selzer 1988: 110/CSIR II. 6. 2)

PREPARING FOR DEATH AND BURIAL

Choosing a monument, the location where it was to be erected, and what it was to express were necessary considerations when preparing for death. Of course, not everyone was or could be prepared for death, nor did everyone have a say in how, or even if, they would be commemorated. A brief epitaph for a female slave in Portus, inscribed simply *Glyceræ servæ* (to Glycera, a slave), presumably on orders from her owner, is one of many inscriptions cut for individuals of low status who themselves were not in a position to ensure their commemoration.¹ For those who did make plans, however, the monument could be designed by the deceased, or written specifications for it could be left in a will, a plot could be selected and paid for and a clear visual message could be conveyed to communicate what was important to the person as a fitting memorial. A marble slab on Tomb A in the Vatican cemetery under St Peter's basilica in Rome reproduces a supplement taken from the will of Gaius Popilius Heracla.² In it he instructed his two heirs to build him a tomb near the circus on the Vatican hill at a cost of 6,000 sesterii. Another written document carved on a marble slab found on the Via Ostiensis outside Rome records correspondence between Geminus Eutyctetes, a vegetable farmer in that location, and the head of the *Collegium Magnum Arkarum Divarum Faustinarum Matris et Piae*, from whom Geminus rented land in the early

¹ Thylander 1952: A127.

² AE 1945: 136/Gordon 1983: 142–3. On the Vatican cemetery, see Mielsch and Von Hesberg 1995.

third century AD.³ In this document, dated by consular details to 227, Gemini-
nius, concerned about having made the necessary provisions for death, asks
for permission to build a modest funerary monument (*memoriolam*) on a
plot of land twenty feet square, and he was granted it.

Not only the type of tomb, but also the text of the epitaph on it could be
determined ante-mortem. This is exactly what the consul Verginius Rufus did,
leaving instructions to his heirs that they provide his tomb with an inscription
giving his name and recounting his great deeds for his country, although, as
Pliny the Younger tells us, his heirs neglected to follow his instructions.⁴ In the
archaeological record, epitaphs frequently record that the monument was
made for the deceased *vivus sibi fecit* or *viva sibi fecit*, in other words while
he or she was still alive (Fig. 29). The addition of a 'v', for *vivo* or *viva*, after a
name also clearly indicated which of the individuals listed in an inscription
were still alive (see Appendix, No. 23). Four family members are depicted on
the inscribed relief of the freedman Gaius Lucius Salvius in Rome, but above
the heads of three of them the word *vivit* indicates that only Salvius had
actually died at the time the stone was made.⁵ Another way of making clear



Figure 29. Marble epitaph from the tomb of Clodia Prepusa (Tomb 86) in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus. She had the tomb built for herself, her husband, and their freed slaves and their descendants

³ CIL VI. 33840/Gordon 1983: 161–2.

⁴ Pliny, *Letters* 6. 10. 3–5.

⁵ CIL VI. 9411/Zanker 1975: 294–6, fig. 32.

who had died and who was still alive when an epitaph was cut was to inscribe the abbreviation for *obitus* (dead), the Greek letter Θ (*theta*), next to the name of the dead person (see Appendix, No. 19). This can be seen in the epitaph of the freedman Lucius Caecilius Zabda and several other freedmen and freedwomen in Ostia. Next to three names on the list a ' Θ ' is written, indicating that they were already dead when the inscription was cut (Fig. 30).⁶ Without these written abbreviations in inscriptions in the western empire we sometimes could not be sure which of the named individuals was dead and which alive.

In the eastern empire, and sometimes in the city of Rome, a quite different device could be used to signal the same thing. Roman gravestones of the second and third centuries from Palmyra in Syria and sarcophagus reliefs of the late third century in Rome often depict a draped cloth or curtain behind the figure of the deceased to indicate that the person portrayed was dead. If two individuals, such as an uncle and a nephew or a father and daughter, are shown on one stone, the curtain behind one of the figures acted as a visual, rather than a written, indication which person was dead and which had commissioned the stone whilst alive.⁷



Figure 30. Funerary epitaph of the freedman Lucius Caecilius Zabda and nine others from Ostia. The Θ before several names signifies that they were already dead when the epitaph was fixed to the monument

⁶ *CIL* XIV. 717/Floriani Squarciapino 1958: 162–3, pl. XXIX.2. See also *CIL* VI. 15700; *CIL* VI. 16270; *CIL* XII. 830; *CIL* XII. 4501; *CIL* XII. 4641; *CIL* XII. 5069.

⁷ If the curtain were also painted, which it probably was, it would stand out even more and draw attention to the figure in front of it. On the Palmyrene reliefs, see Parlasca 1990: nos. 5–6, 13–14. The motif on sarcophagi from Rome can be found in Koch 1990: figs. 1a, 3e, 4–7, 9a.

Inscriptions in Italy and the West can also tell us something about the provision of space in the tomb for those who had not yet died. A first-century gravestone from Mainz records the name of two already buried individuals and that of another 'who *will* lie here' (*hic sita futura est*).⁸ Alternatively, a blank space could be left on the stone to accommodate someone with whom the deceased expected at some point to be buried. This space might, or might not, be used later, depending on the circumstances. The gravestone of Domitia Saturnina from Chester, for example, is carved at the top with the depiction of a male and a female figure, and she is named in one of the epitaph panels below (Fig. 31).⁹ The other panel, presumably for her husband, was never inscribed, possibly because he remarried or moved away after her death. A double tombstone with two inscription panels of the later second century in Segóvia in central Spain has a dedication (to Marcellus) inscribed on only one of the panels.¹⁰ A funerary altar of the third century in Lyon has



Figure 31. Gravestone of Domitia Saturnina from Chester. The second epitaph panel (for her husband?) was left blank

⁸ CIL XIII. 7101/Selzer 1988: 123.

⁹ RIB 564.

¹⁰ Knapp 1992: no. 321.

two panels for inscriptions, but only the left panel has been used to commemorate Gaius Valerius Sacer Gregorius (see Appendix, No. 12).¹¹ The same is true of another inscribed slab to Lucretia Saturnina from her husband and daughter in Vienne.¹² The right panel is blank.

Inscriptions also record the intended present and future use of the tomb by the owners for ‘themselves, and for their freedmen and freedwomen, and their descendants’ (*sibi et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*) (see Appendix Nos. 4, 17). This formula is particularly popular in the tombs for groups of family members, many of them freedmen themselves, and dependants in Rome, Ostia, and Portus where large numbers of slaves and freedmen were part of the extended *familia* (Fig. 32). This extended to future generations of dependants who may not have yet died, let alone been born, when the tomb was constructed.

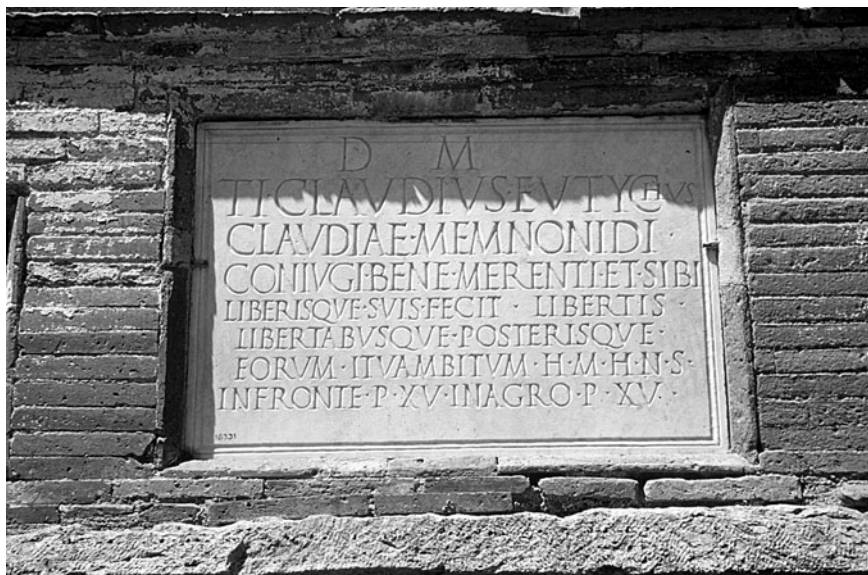


Figure 32. Marble epitaph from the tomb of Titus Claudius Eutychus and Claudia Memnon (Tomb 78) in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus. The epitaph states that their freedwomen, freedmen, and their descendants are to be buried here

¹¹ *CIL* XIII. 1924.

¹² *CIL* XII. 1979. See a blank panel on an ash chest from Isola Sacra, Thylander 1952: A14.

REGIONALITY AND LOCAL CONFORMITY IN TOMB TYPES

Choosing a monument would have involved a visit to the stonemason's workshop to choose the type of tomb and the materials from which it was to be made. One could choose between monuments in stock, or commission a stone to be carved according to specific wishes. The very large built tombs, such as the pyramid tomb of Gaius Cestius (30 × 30 m) near the Porta Ostiensis in Rome (Fig. 14), or the circular tomb of Caecilia Metella (30 m in diameter) on the Via Appia outside Rome (Fig. 11), or the circular mausoleum of Lucilius Paetus and Lucilia Polla (35 m in diameter) on the Via Salaria outside Rome, all dating to the late first century BC, will have necessitated the services of an architect, in addition to a stonemason or sculptor.¹³ In the Roman world of funerary commemoration there is not only considerable regional variety, but the form and content of monuments can differ greatly from town to town, even when these are located at no great distance from each other. The funerary traditions of Narbonne and Nîmes, both in Gallia Narbonensis and only about 150 kilometres distant from each other, are quite different. In Narbonne, large masonry mausolea with rich sculptural decoration and burial plots with enclosure walls interrupted at intervals with upright rounded-top *stelae* predominate, whereas in Nîmes by far the most common type of monument was the funerary altar.¹⁴

The popularity of particular types, and one might even say standardized types of monuments, within a single community is often the result of the wish of individuals in that community to emulate their neighbours and to conform to what was deemed a suitable form of self-representation. Existing tombs acted as models for others. A passage in the *Digest* puts this into perspective. This passage contains a legal ruling on the heir's obligation to follow the wishes of the deceased outlined in his will, and that included the wish for a particular type of tomb. The specific example given is that of a man who wrote in his will that he wished to have a monument 'like that of Publius Septimius Demetrius on the Via Salaria' (in Rome) which was 'the model (*exemplum*) for his own memorial'.¹⁵

Emulation and conformity also is abundantly apparent, for example, at Pompeii. On both sides of the road leading from the north-west gate of the city to Herculaneum, various individuals with neighbouring burial plots built

¹³ Cestius: *CIL* VI. 1374; Nash 1962: 321–3, figs. 1087–9; Eisner 1986: 138–41, pls. 57–8; Von Hesberg 1992: 116, fig. 66; Caecilia Metella: *CIL* VI. 1274; Eisner 1986: 36–41, pls. 9–10; Von Hesberg 1992: 96–7, fig. 137; L. Paetus: *CIL* VI. 32932; Eisner 1986: 124–7, pl. 50.

¹⁴ Narbonne: Hatt 1951: 127–38. Nîmes: Hatt 1951: 124–7; Sauron 1983; Hope 2001: 10–11.

¹⁵ *Digest* 35. 1. 27.

their tombs between 50 BC and AD 79 as inscribed funerary altars of marble (or marble veneer) on a raised base (Fig. 33).¹⁶ These altars dominate the overall appearance of the street. The excavations outside the Porta Nocera, on the other hand, indicate that no such altars were used as monuments, apart from one example made of cheaper brick (instead of marble) in the last years of the city's life.¹⁷ The oldest tombs dating to the first century BC outside the Porta Nocera are concentrated to the west of the gate on the south side of the road running parallel to the city walls. These are of various forms, whereby the temple tomb, in all its variations, is the most frequently recurring type.¹⁸ To the east of the gate however, there are clusters of monuments that resemble each other closely. Several mausolea with a white-plastered podium were erected side by side on the north side of the road running parallel to the city walls in the first half of the first century AD (Fig. 34).¹⁹ On the south side of this road, two virtually identical tombs were erected around AD 50–60



Figure 33. Marble funerary altars on the street outside the Herculaneum Gate at Pompeii, 1st century AD

¹⁶ Kockel 1983: 22–5; D'Ambrosio and Stefani 1998.

¹⁷ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 207–9, pl. 32e (Tomb E North). A general overview of the Porta Nocera cemetery is offered by Stefani, D'Ambrosio and Lagi 1998.

¹⁸ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tombs 3OS, 9OS, 13OS, 23OS, 29OS.

¹⁹ Ibid. Tombs 10 EN, 12 EN, 14 EN.



Figure 34. Tombs of the same type built next to each other outside the Porta Nocera in Pompeii, first half of 1st century AD

(Tombs 9ES and 11ES). Both are rectangular enclosures with an ornately stuccoed gable, and both belonged to freedmen, as did many of the other neighbouring tombs. Just across the road was a very similar tomb (Tomb 22EN) of the same type and date, also belonging to freedmen.²⁰

Tomb 9ES in the Porta Nocera cemetery at Pompeii is particularly interesting because of its owners, Gaius Munatius Faustus and his wife Naevoleia Tyche (Fig. 35). Faustus was a *sevir Augustalis*, a member of the college of priests of the imperial cult, and the land for this tomb was given to him by the town council, as the epitaph tells us. Husband and wife were buried here, along with two of their freedmen and five slaves. Now Naevoleia Tyche must not have considered this monument grand enough, because around AD 60 before her own death she had another memorial *without* his remains (but with burials of the couple's freedmen) constructed, this time outside the Herculaneum gate and in the form of an altar that was meant to conform to and fit in with the other altars commemorating notables on this particular street (Fig. 15).²¹ This monument celebrated the fact that the city council had granted her husband a *bisellium*, the honorific chair of double width that was specially reserved for magistrates at public shows. This altar to Faustus

²⁰ See also in the area outside the Porta Nocera excavated in 1983 as Tomb F Nord: D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 209–10, pl. 33d.

²¹ Kockel 1983: 100–8, pls. 26a–b, 27–30 (Herculaneum Gate); D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tomb 9ES (Noceran Gate).



Figure 35. Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche and Gaius Munatius Faustus (right) in the Porta Nocera cemetery outside Pompeii *c.* AD 50–60

‘rubbed shoulders’ with other earlier altars of high-status individuals such as the freeborn Marcus Porcius, a senior city magistrate (*duovir*) and president elected every five years (*quinquennalis*) of the early colony, the freeborn family of Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella, whose members were city magistrates and priests and whose monument had also been a gift of the community in the Augustan period, and Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, a freeborn *duovir* whose memorial, funeral, and equestrian statue had been donated by the city council in the mid-first century AD (Fig. 33).²² This cemetery outside the Herculaneum gate was used far more frequently by individuals of high standing (48 per cent) than that outside the Porta Nocera (20 per cent).²³ Naevoleia Tyche seems to have chosen the site for the second monument well. But Faustus was not the only freedman to have an altar on this street. Gaius Calventius Quietus, a freedman who, like Faustus, had been honoured with a *bisellium*, also chose this form of monument in the last years of the city’s life.²⁴

The foregoing suggests that the funerary altar originally had been a monument favoured by the upper echelons of society in an attempt to express status and to conform to other individuals on that level. Later, in the last couple of decades of Pompeii’s life, this type of monument was used by individuals of lesser status in that cemetery in emulation of the city’s prominent citizens.

²² Kockel 1983: 53–6, pl. 6; 166–8, pl. 3b, 59–61; 70–5, pls. 15–17.

²³ Stefani *et al.* 1998: 57.

²⁴ Kockel 1983: 90–7, pls. 23–5.

Frischer has highlighted that some of the altar monuments on this road never were actually used as tombs for those named in the inscriptions, since no remains of burials were found in the original excavations.²⁵ This is the case with the above-mentioned memorials of Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella, Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, and Marcus Porcius, but also with other publicly donated monuments. It is therefore possible, according to Frischer, that families honoured with the donation of a burial plot on public land may have used that land to erect a public commemorative memorial, whilst continuing to bury their dead elsewhere, for example, on their family estates at a distance from the town. Certainly Naevoleia Tyche (for her husband Faustus) and Gaius Calventius Quietus built altars on plots that were not donated from public funds. Nevertheless, by choosing an altar, like those who really had been honoured in this way, these freedmen elevated their own positions in society by emulating the memorials of the city's elite on this suburban road.

Conformity can also be recognized in cemeteries at rural sites. At Avenches 'en Chaplix' in Switzerland two almost identical semi-circular temple tombs with rich sculptural decoration were erected immediately adjacent to each other one kilometre outside the city on a road leading north-east. Each mausoleum was surmounted by three statues of the deceased, two men in togas and a woman. Both tombs were built within a stone enclosure wall, the northern one in the late 20s, the southern one in the early 30s AD, possibly by different members of an aristocratic indigenous family who had their estate nearby.²⁶ Also virtually identical were two *tumuli*, each within a rectangular walled enclosure, erected just before the mid-second century AD at Wadern-Oberlöstern in the *civitas Treverorum* in Germany. These *tumuli* probably belonged to a rural estate. Abegg-Wigg interpreted this uniformity as an indication that the deceased were of similar social status or possibly related.²⁷

There is a sense of 'sameness' and 'conformity' here. MacMullen drew attention to the 'sense of audience' that epigraphic texts displayed in public places in general elicited.²⁸ It appears that, in the context of funerary commemoration, this was an immediate, local 'audience'. In other words, it involved people who saw the tombs daily and who understood and responded to the 'language' of the tombs and what it represented visually and ideologically. Funerary monuments through their conformity could give a sense of

²⁵ Frischer 1982–3, 78–83. Frischer also discusses many other examples of honorific memorials and the significance of the altar as a monumental form.

²⁶ Flutsch 1993: 213–28; Flutsch and Hauser 2000: figs. 44–5, pls. 109–10; Bossert 2000: 251, pls. 111–13.

²⁷ Abegg-Wigg 2000: 116.

²⁸ MacMullen 1982; Woolf 1996: 25–7.

communal identity to those who lived and died within the parameters of socially acceptable behaviour and who participated in this form of display.

But this sense of sameness and conformity was not a feature of the late Republican and early Augustan period, that is, in the second half of the first century BC. At this time, competition was a far greater driving force for a small group of aristocrats, particularly in Rome. Large and elaborate tombs with multi-storeyed superstructures, or tombs in imitation of temples, or tombs of circular or pyramidal form, were erected in prominent positions to be seen by everyone, each one trying to outdo the other in size or decoration. The leading families who built these tombs also separated themselves clearly from the increasing number of tombs with façades decorated with rows of portraits erected by the freedman class in first century BC.²⁹ This competitive behaviour can be attributed to the political and social conditions in Rome at the time.³⁰ But rivalry of this kind between aristocratic families lost in significance once Augustus, the first emperor, consolidated all power in his hands. After his mausoleum, the largest tomb of them all, was erected on the Campus Martius in Rome in 27 BC there was no longer any point in one-upmanship in funerary architecture (Fig. 4a). By the first century AD, the streets of tombs outside Roman towns were filled with less ostentatious monuments that in many cases had great similarity with each other; employing funerary display in a more normative fashion had come to express belonging and being part of the community of peers. In all cases, however, funerary monuments and the written words inscribed on them were active in the production, negotiation, communication, and transformation of social relations.

There are many regional peculiarities that do not fit into any of the more 'standard' tomb types. I have already discussed the *columella* in stylized human form peculiar to Campanian towns in Chapter 3, and I mention only four other unusual types of monuments here. Between the late fifth and the second centuries BC a common burial marker in the territory of Praeneste east of Rome was the stone in the shape of a pinecone inscribed with the name of the deceased.³¹ In central Spain in the province of Ávila, stone statues of a bull or a boar were relatively popular. These images, known locally as *verracos*, had a long tradition of use by the indigenous population since the fourth century BC, although it was not until the second century AD that they were used as funerary monuments and inscribed with Latin texts.³²

²⁹ Zanker 1975.

³⁰ Von Hesberg 1992: 26–37; Purcell 1987: 33.

³¹ Franchi de Bellis 1997; Friggeri 2001: no. 46.

³² *CIL* II. 3051/Knapp 1992: no. 29; Knapp 1992: no. 30; Knapp 1992: no. 49; *CIL* II. 278/Knapp 1992: no. 88; *CIL* II. 3052/Knapp 1992: no. 89; Knapp 1992: no. 90; Knapp 1992: no. 91; Knapp 1992: no. 94. For a general discussion, see Knapp 1992: 317–25; Edmondson 2002: 55–6.

In the Cispadana region of northern Italy, large and irregularly shaped natural stones (*saxa*) between 57 centimetres and 1.27 metres in height were regularly used as permanent funerary markers (Fig. 36). The Latin inscriptions on them are very brief, usually giving only the name of the deceased.³³ In Cagliari on Sardinia stone memorials in the shape of a large wine barrel lying on its side are rather common. On the side of the barrel is an epitaph panel, although some of these monuments have up to four panels for the names and details of family members.³⁴

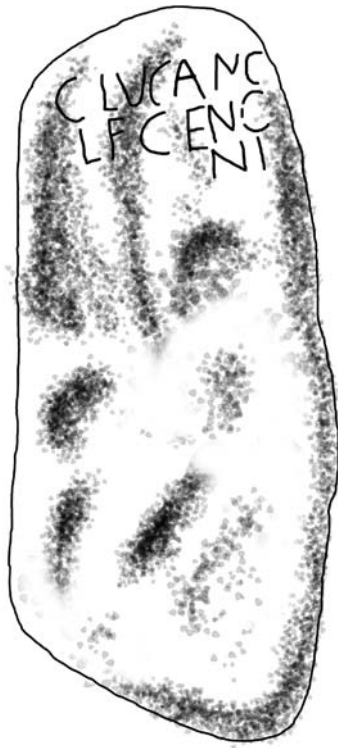


Figure 36. Natural river stone from Castelletto Stura in northern Italy inscribed with the name of Gaius Lucanus Cenonius, son of Lucius

³³ *I.It.* IX/1. 6–7, 9, 11–12, 55–7, 77, 96–103, 105–6, 120.

³⁴ *CIL* X. 7680, 7696, 7700, 7703 (with illustration). On ‘wine barrel monuments’ in Portugal, see Toynbee 1971: 253, pl. 81; Von Hesberg 1993: 178, pl. 209; Tupman 2005.

ACQUIRING AND MARKING OFF A BURIAL PLOT

Securing a plot for the monument cannot always have been an easy task, especially in overcrowded urban cemeteries in which influential and well-off citizens vied for the prime spots of optimal exposure along the main road or on the lesser roads laid out parallel to the main axis to accommodate more tombs. Furthermore the suburbs of all towns were the location of private dwellings and industrial establishments which competed with the cemetery areas for space, and from time to time both encroached upon each other.³⁵ A variety of different sized plots were available or had to be made available, and uniformity of plots seems to have been achieved only when a generous patron or a speculator bought up new land specifically for cemetery development which was then sold in uniform lots to purchasers. According to an inscription, this was the case with the land given to the community of Sarsina by Horatius Balbus, land that was to be divided into plots ten feet by ten feet.³⁶ Elsewhere, in Tolentinum to the east of the Appenines in central Italy, Gaius Veienus Trophimus donated a plot of land 200 feet by 282 feet near the river bank to be used for burials, and this may well have been divided up into regular plots.³⁷ In general, this regularity is very difficult to recognize in the surviving remains of Roman cemeteries, although occasionally plots of the same size can be seen. A strip of land twenty Roman feet deep appears to have been set aside for late Republican tombs on the Via Celimontana in Rome, but although these tombs all have the same depth, they vary in width, suggesting that the size of individual plots depended on the wealth of the purchaser.³⁸

Examples of walled funerary enclosures are numerous throughout the empire. The most northerly of these may be the walled plots excavated in the last few years outside the auxiliary fort of Vindolanda just south of Hadrian's Wall.³⁹ Evidence has survived in epitaphs, wills, and in the

³⁵ Tranoy 2000: 167–8; Carroll-Spillecke 1996; Patterson 2000: 101–3.

³⁶ *CIL* I. 1418/*ILS* 7846; Ortalli 1987: 157.

³⁷ *CIL* IX. 5570/*ILS* 7847/*AE* 2000: 488. See also *CIL* VI. 10229 for the division of land for the freedmen of a patron.

³⁸ Von Hesberg 1987: 46, fig. 5. On 'regular' plots in Aquileia, see Reusser 1987: 247, and for those in the Via Laurentina cemetery in Ostia, see Heinzelmann 2000: fig. 21; Heinzelmann 2001*b*, 379.

³⁹ Birley 1977: 66–7, figs. 13–14; Blake 2003: 11–13, figs. 14–17; Birley and Blake 2005: 17–19, figs. 7, 30. These tomb enclosures, some of which had a masonry monument in the centre, date to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th cents. They are quite unusual in Britain, although a few of the 2nd and 3rd centuries are known also in London: Mackinder 2000: 9–10, 14–19, figs. 8, 12, 19, 23. One of the monuments excavated in 2001–2 at Vindolanda was thought to have functioned first as a

archaeological material to indicate that many of the enclosures were planted.⁴⁰ The third-century sarcophagus of Florentia Crispina from Cologne, for example, has an inscription that says that she was to be buried in her own garden (*in hortulo suo*), almost certainly the grave garden of her family plot.⁴¹ In Saguntum on the eastern coast of Spain, Gnaeus Baebius Ero and his wife Oppia Montana were buried in the first century AD in their own gardens (*in suis hortis siti sunt*).⁴² These were, as the epitaph tells us, on a burial plot twenty feet by twenty feet in size. The tomb of Gaius Novius Trophimus, Novia Synerusa, and their dependants in Ostia included a garden and a pool, the size of this large enclosed plot being 290 feet wide and 240 feet deep.⁴³ The tomb of Sextus Iulius Aquila from Langres, according to the stipulations of his second-century will, was to be situated in orchards (*pomaria*) tended by three landscape gardeners (*topiarii*) and their apprentices.⁴⁴

Sometimes mention is made in the epitaph of the *maceria*, the enclosure wall around the plot and the tomb, but even when this enclosure wall is not mentioned we can assume that some form of boundary marker delineated the plot itself.⁴⁵ Many boundary markers in stone have survived in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. They are usually thick upright slabs (*cippi* or *stelae*) with a rounded top and have a simple inscription that includes the name of the deceased and the dimensions of the burial plot.⁴⁶ They define the width of the plot's frontage on the road as a specific number of feet *in fronte* and its

Romano-Celtic temple, then from the first half of the 2nd cent. as a walled funerary enclosure with burials, but it may well have been a funerary monument from the beginning. Eight cremation burials have been found in this monument, six of them deposited in small wooden caskets, one in a halved amphora, and one under a libation pipe consisting of a box tile of the type used in the heating system of Roman baths: Blake 2003: 11–13, figs. 24–7. Current excavations are uncovering more of what are either mausolea or small temples with rich sculptural decoration.

⁴⁰ *CIL* I. 1059/*ILS* 8341; *CIL* II. 3960; *CIL* II. 4332/*ILS* 8271/Alföldy 1975: 368; *CIL* III. 7545; *CIL* V. 7454/*ILS* 8342; *CIL* VI. 13823; *CIL* VI. 15594/*ILS* 8063c; *CIL* VI. 13102/*ILS* 8089; *CIL* VI. 23090/*ILS* 8345; *CIL* X. 2066/*ILS* 8080; *CIL* XI. 3895/*ILS* 8347; *CIL* XII. 3637; *CIL* XIII. 1072/*ILA* Santons, no. 42; *CIL* XIV. 396/*ILS* 8346. On grave gardens in inscriptions, see Toynbee 1971: 94–100; Chioffi 2004. For archaeologically attested tomb gardens, see Jashemski 1970/1; D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 204 (Porta Nocera, Tomb A North); D'Ambrosio 1999: 182, fig. 2 (Porta Sarno); Carroll 2003a: 76–9, figs. 61–2.

⁴¹ *CIL* XIII. 8381/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 387.

⁴² *CIL* II²/14. 407 = *CIL* II. 6031.

⁴³ *CIL* XIV. 396/*ILS* 8346. An inscription from Capena also records a pool or tank and a rose garden with a terrace and vineyard: *CIL* XI. 3895/*ILS* 8347.

⁴⁴ *CIL* XIII. 5708/*ILS* 8379; Hatt 1951: 66–9; Lavagne 1987: 162–3.

⁴⁵ *CIL* VI. 3480; *CIL* VI. 29961; *CIL* VI. 12134/*ILS* 8085; *CIL* VI. 22437/*ILS* 8335; *CIL* VI. 15593; *CIL* X. 6069/*ILS* 8338; *CIL* XII. 5244; *CIL* XII. 5244; *CIL* XIV. 3797/*ILS* 8336; *CIL* XIV. 730/Thylander 1952: A52; *CIL* XIV. 3340.

⁴⁶ *IIt.* X/5. 365, 398, 431, 502; *IAq.* 576a; Floriani Squariciapino 1958: 71–3, 146, figs. 26–7, 64; *CIL* II²/7. 930–1; *CIL* II²/7. 959–61.

depth perpendicular to the road as feet *in agro*. In the Isola Sacra cemetery in Portus, burial plots were sometimes square in plan (sizes of 10×10 , or 40×40 exist), or were long, rectangular plots (10×12 , 18×38 , and 20×43) or they were plots whose width exceeded their depth (16×13 , 15×13) (see Appendix No. 4, and Figs. 29, 32).⁴⁷ Eck's survey of epitaphs in the city of Rome suggests that two-thirds of the tombs there in the late first and second centuries AD ranged between ten and twenty feet on one of their sides, regardless whether the tomb belonged to a magistrate, a soldier, a freedman, or a professional.⁴⁸ Reusser noted that in Aquileia in north-east Italy sixteen feet is a common plot size.⁴⁹ Gil determined that plot widths generally between ten and fourteen feet and plot depths of twelve feet at most were most frequent in Córdoba in southern Spain.⁵⁰ My survey of funerary material from Narbonne indicates that fifteen feet was an extremely common width or length of the burial plots.⁵¹

At Aquileia it is particularly fortunate that numerous boundary stones have been found in pairs, or as a group of three or four, reflecting the practice of marking not just the front of the plot with a stone but at least two corners of it, if not all four.⁵² In one case, a rounded-top *stele* with the name of the deceased and the dimensions of the plot survived, along with two other smaller boundary stones from the same plot that record only its size.⁵³ In another, two *stelae* of the first century AD inscribed with the name of Marcus Papinius Rhetoricus and the plot size were found with two others inscribed simply *L M / M P R / IN F P XVI / IN A P XXXII*.⁵⁴ Possibly the simpler stones marked the back corners of the plot, the *locus monumenti*, here abbreviated *L M*. Marcus Papinius Rhetoricus' name is abbreviated to *M P R*, and such abbreviations are common on the boundary stones in Aquileia.⁵⁵ The name was almost certainly written out in full on the main inscription of the tomb monument so that there would be no doubt whose plot the boundary stones delimited.

Two stones commemorating Marcus Clodius Epapra and his wife Scantia Gemella from Narbonne are identical in size and shape, except that on one the width of the tomb frontage (*IN F P Q XV*: frontage fifteen square feet) and on

⁴⁷ Thylander 1952: A263, A83, A25, A34; *CIL* XIV. 1590/Thylander 1952: B144; Thylander 1952: A149; *CIL* XIV. 667/Thylander 1952: B28.

⁴⁸ Eck 1987: 199–200. He refers to this as the 'Mittelkategorie'.

⁴⁹ Reusser 1987: 244.

⁵⁰ Gil 2002: 177.

⁵¹ e.g. *CIL* XII. 4413, 4573, 4667, 4468, 4734, 4765, 4885, 5069.

⁵² Pairs: *IAq.* 2242, 2246, 2315, 2318, 2386–7, 2535, 2546. Group of three: *IAq.* 2464. Group of four: *IAq.* 2435, 2275.

⁵³ *IAq.* 2464.

⁵⁴ *IAq.* 2435.

⁵⁵ *IAq.* 2329, 2430, 2492, 2496, 2497.

the other the length of the plot (*IN A P Q XV*: depth fifteen square feet) is inscribed (Fig. 37).⁵⁶ In effect, these two inscriptions give the exact dimensions of the plot because they refer to it in square feet, and they will have stood in two different places within the enclosure of the burial plot. Two identical stones to the freedman Lucius Falius Solimarus in Narbonne record the *in agro* dimension of fifteen feet; perhaps there were two more with the *in fronte* dimension that are lost.⁵⁷ Some of the boundary stones have only the plot size inscribed on them, without the name of the person to whom the tomb belonged.⁵⁸ At Vaison, two such stones read simply: *AREA / LATA P X / LONG P X* and *IN / F P XXV / IN / AG P XXV*.⁵⁹ We can safely assume, however, that the name of the tomb owner was inscribed on the main epitaph on the actual monument.

The extravagance of Trimalchio's planned tomb, in comparison to the majority of these actual tombs, is immediately apparent in the size it was to

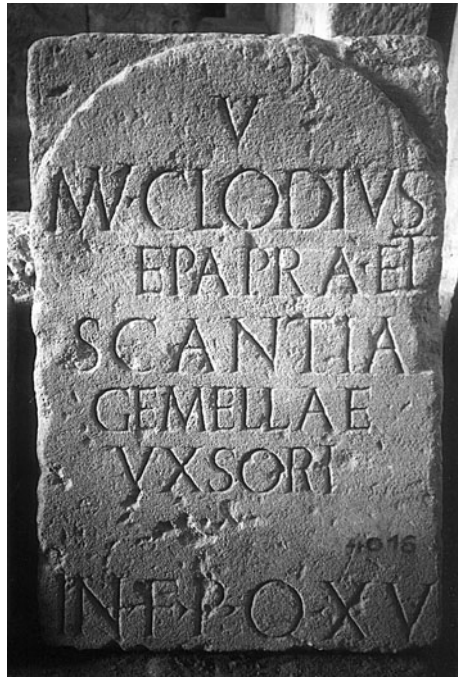


Figure 37. Boundary stone marking off the burial plot of Marcus Clodius Epapra and his wife Scantia Gemella in Narbonne, 1st century AD. The bottom line gives the size of the plot as 15 square feet. Musée Lapidaire, Narbonne

⁵⁶ *CIL* XII. 4707a–b. ⁵⁷ *CIL* XII. 4812a–b add.

⁵⁸ *CIL* XII. 5332i, *CIL* XII. 5332h, *CIL* XII. 5332f.

⁵⁹ *CIL* XII. 1476; *CIL* XII. 1478.

have, 100 × 200 feet, but this is by no means a purely literary exaggeration.⁶⁰ At Brixia in northern Italy, for example, a plot 200 feet *in fronte* and 160 feet *in agro* is recorded on an epitaph.⁶¹ Even at Portus in the Isola Sacra cemetery one of the plots outstripped all the others, measuring 300 by 96 feet.⁶² Like Trimalchio, the owners of this large burial plot, Aulus Caesennius Herma and Aulus Caesennius Italicus, were freedmen who obviously had acquired a great deal of wealth. In Narbonne, the imperial slaves employed in the first century AD as archivists for the government (*Familia Tabellariorum Caesaris*) were buried in a plot measuring 325 × 305 feet, clearly a large communal site for the members of this society.⁶³

For whatever reason, changes occasionally were made to the plot sizes given on boundary stones and grave *stelae*. On a *stèle* from Tucci in Spain, the letter-cutter erased the number originally carved to indicate the depth of the plot and corrected it to 'X'.⁶⁴ The section on the tombstone originally naming the front dimensions of the burial plot of Tiberius Claudius Germanus and his wife in Aquileia was erased, and a new line reading 'IN FR P XLII' was carved in its place.⁶⁵ Whether the plot was made smaller or larger we do not know.

DETERMINING THE TOMB OCCUPANTS

It was also common in Italy, and in southern Gaul, to specify that the monument and the plot were not to be sold or passed on to the heir or to the heir of someone else; the tomb was not part of the property inheritance. The formula often chosen to express the inalienability of the tomb is *hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur* (this monument will not follow the heir), abbreviated as *HMHNS* (see Figs. 29 and 32), but sometimes this is extended to include specifically the prohibition to outsiders (*hoc monumentum heredem externum non sequetur*) or external families (*hoc monumentum heredem familiae externae non sequetur*) (see Appendix, No. 2).⁶⁶ Variations on this prohibition include *HMMHNS* (*hoc monumentum meum heredem non*

⁶⁰ Petronius, *Satyricon* 71.

⁶¹ *CIL* V. 4787/*ILS* 8355.

⁶² *CIL* XIV. 730/*ILS* 8348/Thylander 1952: A52.

⁶³ *CIL* XII. 4449.

⁶⁴ *CIL* II²/5. 111; see also *CIL* II²/5. 403; *CIL* II²/14. 407 = *CIL* II. 6031.

⁶⁵ *I.Aq.* 576a; see also *I.Aq.* 2587.

⁶⁶ *CIL* II. 4296/Alföldy 1975: 417; *CIL* VI. 13814; *CIL* VI. 15593; *CIL* VI. 16698; *CIL* XIV. 5107/Thylander 1952: A220; *CIL* XIV. 5132/Thylander 1952, A240; *CIL* XIV. 4827/Thylander 1952: A56; Thylander 1952: A80. Galsterer and Galsterer 1979: 204, noted the preponderance of the *HMHNS* formula in conjunction with tombs that belonged to freedmen, or married couples of mixed freeborn and freedman status. They suggest that this was an attempt to stop former

sequetur) attested in Arles, and *HNSNLS* (*heredes non sequetur nec locus sepulturae*) found in Narbonne.⁶⁷ The formula thus expresses ownership of the tomb and it represents the owner's or the owning family's attempt to prohibit undetermined individuals from usurping the tomb in future.

The funerary inscription also can specify the exact names of those who were allowed to be buried in the tomb. Although many epitaphs give right of burial to unnamed freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants, others qualify this by including specific names of ex-slaves allowed access to the tomb. The text can include the phrase *qui infra scripti sunt* (whose names are written here) or *quorum nomina postea in titulo inscribi* (whose names are inscribed below in this epitaph), followed by a list of names.⁶⁸ Equally, the inscription could specify who was not to be buried in the tomb, as we see from the epitaph of Marcus Licinius Successus in Rome.⁶⁹ This inscription makes very clear that the tomb is for the family and their freedmen and freedwomen, 'with the exception of the freedman Hermes' who was prohibited to approach or be admitted to the tomb 'because of his offences'. Another epitaph in Rome specifies that the tomb was for the family of Quintus Caecilius Felix and his freedmen, 'except the freedwoman Secundina because of her disloyalty towards her patron' (*impia adversus Caecilium Felicem*).⁷⁰

Tombs may have been considered inviolate, but for one reason or another they were bought and sold, subdivided and extended. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the alteration of plot dimensions on the boundary stones and *stelae* discussed above. Very exact details of such transactions are often preserved in funerary inscriptions. Publius Alpius Eros recorded the purchase of a burial plot in Hispellum in Umbria from Titus Heterius for himself and his friends at the end of the first century BC.⁷¹ Marcus Antonius

slave owners (now patrons) who automatically inherited from their former slaves (now freedmen) from acquiring the tomb and disposing of it to others outside the family of the deceased, should the patrons not need it themselves. For recent unpublished inscriptions pertaining to legal aspects of tombs, see Barbera *et al.* 2004.

⁶⁷ *CIL* XII. 800, 5244. Sandys 1927: 81–2, suggested that the phrase *sub ascia dedicavit* and the carving of an *ascia* on gravestones in the Rhône valley, particularly in Lyon, 'denoted that, from the time of the first hewing out of the stone, the monument was reserved for a definite person or persons', and that this may be the local equivalent of the formula *HMHNS* found in Roman Italy. On the *ascia*, see Ch. 3.

⁶⁸ *CIL* VI. 16664/*ILS* 8262; *CIL* VI. 16068; *CIL* VI. 16286.

⁶⁹ *CIL* VI. 11027.

⁷⁰ *CIL* VI. 13732/*ILS* 8115. Tomb 100 in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus was to include the family's freedmen and freedwomen, but it was off-limits to two of them named Panaratus and Prosdocia (Calza 1940: 248–51, figs. 148–9; Bloch 1944: 217; Thylander 1952: A222; Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 42–4), and the epitaph from another tomb in this cemetery prohibits access to the freedmen who abandoned their patroness (Thylander 1952: A168).

⁷¹ Massi Secondari and Sensi 1992.

Agathius subdivided a tomb (Tomb 75) owned by himself and Marcus Cocceius Daphnus, Agathius' half of the tomb being for himself and his dependants in Portus (Tomb 76).⁷² Valeria Trophime had an annexe built onto her tomb (Tomb 94) and around AD 150 she sold four plots in the annexe to others, including to Gaius Galgestius Helius, who saw to the provision of fourteen niches for cinerary urns to the right of the entrance in his part of the tomb, and to the imperial slave Trophimus and his family who 'bought a quarter of the monument' (see Appendix, No. 3).⁷³ A marble plaque in Rome lists the tomb owners and what portion of the tomb belongs to them.⁷⁴ In this text, we are told that Cutia Europa, Lucius Cominius Diogenes, and Decius Fidustus Heraclida each owned one-third of the funerary monument on a plot nineteen feet wide and sixteen feet deep, and that they shared this with their freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants. A recent in-depth study by Nielsen of the 198 inscriptions still in place in *Columbarium I* at the Vigna Codini site on the ancient Via Appia in Rome clearly reveals the common practice of buying groups of niches wherever they were available in the *columbarium* for several members of the family. Since many of the inscribed plaques have identical names and mention only one person, Nielsen concluded that these inscriptions indicate the purchase of niches by individuals who may have been the heads of households and who, as owners, distributed the niches to anonymous dependants.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the information carved on these plaques indicates that the owners often sold some of their niches to other people.

The epitaphs in many communal tombs frequently record exactly how many burial places there were in the tomb and where they were located and, like the epitaph of Publius Varius Ampelus in Portus, they can stipulate that no new burials were to be made.⁷⁶ Gaius Calpenius Hermes and his wife Antistia Coetonis built a chamber to the right of the entrance as their place of eternal rest; outside the tomb on the pavement were sarcophagi, and facing the entrance and to the left of it were niches in two walls for both cinerary urns and sarcophagi.⁷⁷ Marcus Herennius Agricola and his wife Herennia Lacena bought three niches and cinerary urns for themselves and their son in the tomb belonging to Titus Flavius Artemidorus in Rome.⁷⁸ The position of

⁷² Thylander 1952: A16, A83; Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 90–1; Nielsen 1996: 48–9.

⁷³ Thylander 1952: A124, A251, A94. Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 50–4, discuss Tomb 94.

⁷⁴ *CIL* VI. 16705.

⁷⁵ Nielsen 1996: 42.

⁷⁶ *ILS* 7892; *CIL* VI. 10329/*ILS* 7893; *CIL* VI. 33263/*ILS* 7894; *CIL* VI. 6150/*ILS* 7896; *CIL* VI. 9135/*ILS* 7898; *CIL* VI. 25192/*ILS* 7913; *CIL* XIV. 1868/*ILS* 7922; Thylander 1952: A268–9.

⁷⁷ Thylander 1952: A56/*CIL* XIV. 4827.

⁷⁸ *CIL* VI. 10241/*ILS* 7912.

these niches inside and 'on the left side of the tomb' (*intransibus parte laeva*) is specified in the inscription, as is the actual location of the tomb itself, *in Via Salaria in agro Volusi Basilides*.

COMMISSIONING SCULPTORS AND LETTER-CUTTERS

The cutting of an inscription and the carving of the pictorial or ornamental details of a monument necessitated the services of a letter-cutter and a sculptor. A relief scene on a funerary altar in Rome depicts a sculptor applying the finishing details with a chisel and mallet to a portrait bust whilst a woman looks on.⁷⁹ The woman is most likely the customer visiting the sculptor's workshop to supervise the carving of the funerary portrait of a relative. Trimalchio at his dinner party gave instructions to Habinnas, the sculptor or stone-cutter (*lapidarius*), for his tomb, and the will of S. Iulius Aquila in Langres specifies that his statue, an exedra, an altar, and the door of his tomb are to be made of 'the finest imported marble', in particular Luna (Carrara) marble from Etruria.⁸⁰ An epitaph in Rome specifies that the inscription was to be cut in Travertine limestone.⁸¹ The person responsible for arranging the inscriptions and inscribing a text in stone was the *sculptor* or *scriptor titulorum*, a profession that occasionally is advertised on shop signs. One such sign in Rome reads: 'If you need inscriptions cut for tombstones, or any sort of stonework done, this is the place' (*D M TITULOS SCRIBENDOS VEL SI QUID OPERIS MARMORARI OPUS FUERIT HIC HABES*).⁸² A *scriptor titulorum* by the name of Vitalis is commemorated on a funerary inscription in Rome, and professions such as *lapicida*, *lapidarius*, and *sculptor* are also named on gravestones in Italy and Gaul.⁸³

The verse inscription to be cut might be composed by the deceased or later by a relative, friend, or patron. The inscription on Scipio Africanus Maior's tomb was composed by the poet Ennius (239–169? BC).⁸⁴ An interesting epitaph written in verse in the third century AD comes from Sulmo in central Italy. In the text, the dedicator says that he himself composed the verse commemorating his family, despite the fact that as a 'barbarian' and a 'native

⁷⁹ D'Ambra 1998: 94, fig. 58.

⁸⁰ Petronius, *Satyricon* 71; *CIL* XIII. 5708/*ILS* 8379. The text from Langres is discussed by Hatt 1951: 66–9; Lavagne 1987: 162–3.

⁸¹ *CIL* VI. 3428/*ILS* 8112.

⁸² *CIL* VI. 9556; Keppie 1991: 13.

⁸³ *CIL* VI. 9557; *CIL* VI. 53908; *CIL* XII. 732; *ILS* 7676; *CIL* VI. 53909.

⁸⁴ Cicero, *Laws* 2. 22. 57; Seneca, *Moral Essays* 108. 33.

of Pannonia' he had difficulty with the language.⁸⁵ The information in this epitaph was included for the benefit of 'whoever read, or *listened to one reading*, the inscription' (my italics; see Chapter 2). A man from Frascati to the south-east of Rome whose name has not survived on his gravestone of the second century AD asks the passer-by to read his inscription, in particular to read the 'verse that I dictated and had written down' (*versus quos ego dictavi et iussi scribere*).⁸⁶ Sidonius Apollinaris wrote to his nephew around AD 467, asking him to have a new stone slab inscribed for the tomb of Sidonius' grandfather: 'The verse inscription to go on it I composed that night . . . please have it cut on the stone'.⁸⁷ Sidonius will have composed his verse in cursive script, perhaps on papyrus, so the letter-cutter responsible for the stone inscription will have had to 'translate' the epitaph in lapidary capital letters. In many cases the components of epitaphs will have been taken by the letter-cutter from 'manuals' or collections of formulae or books of poetry. This is the only explanation for the inscription from Annaba in Algeria that reads: *Hic iacet corpus pueri nominandi* (Here lies the body of a boy, name to be given/inserted). The letter-cutter followed the manual quite literally 'to the letter', without noticing that he was to insert a specific name in the space provided.⁸⁸

The use of manuals or collections of poetic themes may also be supported by the existence of identical, or almost identical, verses inscribed on monuments that were found in different places. Bücheler recognized an inscription of a retired Praetorian guardsman dating to shortly after AD 29 in Rome that has the same verses as a roughly contemporary one for a legionary soldier in Burnum in Dalmatia, and Alföldy discusses an epitaph in Tarragona in Spanish Catalonia that is identical to that on another stone of the second century in Rome.⁸⁹ To cite another example, the phrase *te lapis obtestor leviter super ossa residas* (it is asked of you, stone, to rest lightly on these bones) can be found in epitaphs from north-east and north-west Italy, Umbria in central Italy, Rome, and the Dalmatian coast, with the occasional substitution of *residas* for *quiescas*.⁹⁰ Its widespread use in Italy and the Adriatic suggests

⁸⁵ *S.It.* 4, 58/AE 1989: 247/Linderski 1998: 461.

⁸⁶ *CIL* XIV. 2605.

⁸⁷ *Letters* 3. 12. 5; Handley 2003: 24–6.

⁸⁸ *AE* 1931: 112. On the subject, see Ireland 1983: 221.

⁸⁹ Bücheler 1895–7: 991 = *CIL* VI. 2489 (Rome), identical to 992 = *CIL* III. 2835 (Burnum); Alföldy 1975: no. 636 = *CIL* II. 6130 (Tarragona), identical to *CIL* VI. 23942 (Rome). See also virtually identical texts from Beneventum in Italy (*CIL* IX. 1764, Bücheler 1895–7: 76) and Delminium in Dalmatia (Engström 1912: 23). The topic of similar or identical texts and the possibility of manuals is discussed by Galletier 1922: 225–33; Lattimore 1942: 17–20.

⁹⁰ *CIL* V. 470; *CIL* V. 1493; *CIL* V. 7097; Bücheler 1895–7: 1152; *CIL* VI. 6873; *CIL* VI. 27728; *CIL* III. 3141.

some sort of standard phraseology that was available to a wider public. Literature may have provided some of the inspiration. A literary genre popular in Hellenistic Greece, and one that was influential in Roman funerary epigraphy, was the sepulchral epigram (in Greek), collections of which were compiled in the Roman period (*Anthologia Graeca*).⁹¹ Latin epigrams also found their way into literary collections, and one of Latin literature's best (and most scathing) poets, Martial, was an absolute master of the genre. Aulus Gellius recorded the epitaph of the Roman poet Pacuvius (died 130 BC), supposedly composed by Pacuvius himself, but it is unclear whether he composed the text, or later authors invented it, or the text was borrowed from contemporary Latin inscriptions on actual funerary monuments.⁹² His epitaph was as follows:

ADULESCENS TAM ETSI PROPERAS TE HOC SAXUM ROGAT
UT SESE ASPICIAS DEINDE QUOD SCRIPTUM EST LEGAS
HIC SUNT POETAE PACUVI MARCI SITA
OSSA HOC VOLEBAM NESBITUS NE ESSES VALE

'Young man, although you hurry, this stone asks that you look upon it and read what is written there. Here lie the bones of Marcus Pacuvius. I wished that you should not be unaware of this. Fare well!' Interestingly, a very similar version of the text actually was used for the marble tablet of a funerary monument in Rome that dates to the early first century BC, if not earlier:⁹³

ADULESCENS TAM ET SI PROPERAS
HIC TE SAXSOLUS ROGAT UT SE
ASPICIAS DEINDE UT QUOD SCRIPTUM EST
LEGAS HIC SUNT OSSA MAECI LUCI SITA
PILOTIMI VASCULARI HOC EGO VOLEBAM
NESCIUS NI ESSES VALE

'Young man, although you hurry, this little stone asks that you look upon it and read what is written there. Here lie the bones of Maecus Lucius Pilotimus, a maker of table-ware. I wished that you should not be unaware of this. Fare well!'

Thus, there may have been cross-fertilizing influences between poetry and funerary epigraphy that is reflected in duplications of and variations on themes in various parts of the empire. We have seen a duplication of one

⁹¹ The sepulchral epigrams are collected in book 7 of the *Anthologia Graeca*. For English translations, see Paton (1916–18); Beckby (1957). Dübner and Cougny (1864–90) translated the Greek epigrams into Latin.

⁹² *Attic Nights* 1. 24.4.

⁹³ *CIL* VI. I². 1209 = *CIL* VI. 33919a/*ILS* 7703.

text above. An example of variations on a theme is a particular verse used to lament an early and untimely death, namely that human lives are like the fruit of trees: some fall when they are ripe, others are gathered while they are still green. This analogy appears in a funerary inscription in Luca in northern Italy, on a second-century stone in Aix-en-Provence in southern Gaul, and in an epitaph of the same date in Córdoba in southern Spain.⁹⁴ None has exactly the same wording, but all three express the same idea.

The likelihood is that there were different ways of composing an epitaph. It could be composed by the dedicator himself, or he could dictate a text that he knew from poetry, or he could select from a collection the letter-cutter had, or he could choose a ready-made stone from the workshop, or the end product on the stone could be a combination of all of these. The customer also could be inspired by epitaphs he had seen on other funerary monuments in his community or region, choosing a text that was considered appropriate and proper by others and thereby conforming to local practice. This could account for some of the regionalism in epigraphic formulae that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Before he carved the inscription the stonemason had to acquire the raw materials for the monument. Some of the stones will have come directly from the quarry or a middleman, others may have been used before for other purposes and were recycled as grave monuments. Here I would like to examine one particular case of recycling in Pompeii in the cemetery areas excavated in 1954/5 and 1983 outside the Porta Nocera. Many of the marble *columelle* associated with the tombs in this cemetery are reworked slabs, columns, cornices, and other pieces of architectural material. Of the nineteen *columelle* dating to the first century AD in the burial precinct labelled 'Area B' in the Porta Nocera cemetery eight are of basalt lava, eleven are of marble, but only one of the marble *columelle* is not of reused material. In 'Area D' and 'Area E', both of late Republican/early Augustan date, there are nine and eight basalt lava *columelle* respectively; in each of these two precincts was only one marble *columella*, and in both cases it was of reused stone.⁹⁵ In Tomb 50S a marble inscription, still with some intact lines of text referring to the grant of a burial plot by the town council, simply was turned over and reused for a *columella*. This tomb was built some time in the last couple of decades of Pompeii's life, when there will have been plenty of delapidated and damaged tombs available for 'recycling' for other funerary monuments, especially after

⁹⁴ CIL XI. 7024, CIL XII. 533, CIL II²/7. 567.

⁹⁵ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 216–18 (Area B, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19); 219 (Area D, no. 1), 222 (Area E, no. 7). See also 216 (Area A, nos. 1, 3, 4), 223 (Area F, no. 1), 225 (Area G, nos. 2, 3, 8, 21).

the earthquake of AD 62.⁹⁶ Unlike the marble grave markers, the basalt lava *columelle* appear to be freshly made, perhaps reflecting that this material, anyway in abundant quantities in the volcanic geology of Pompeii and its hinterland, was easily accessible and perhaps cheap, whereas marble was somewhat harder to come by and more costly. This might have been an important consideration for those who used this part of the Porta Nocera cemetery, as all of the precincts of 'Areas A–G' are decidedly modest.

Before the stonemason could carve the pictorial motif or cut the inscription on the stone, the surface had to be prepared and smoothed and the lines for the text laid out (*ordinatio*).⁹⁷ A number of stones found in various parts of the empire are prepared in this way, but are lacking the inscription. The rest of the stone is complete, suggesting that many prepared gravestones kept in stock in the stonemason's shop required only the personalized text details that were supplied by the commemorator. Although Espérandieu suggested that such incomplete stones may have had a painted, rather than a carved, inscription, there is no clear evidence that this was the case.⁹⁸ Paint, in particular red paint made of cinnabar, was applied to inscriptions on walls, marbles, and tombs, as Pliny the Elder says, but the paint was used to fill in the carved letters and make them stand out against a plain background.⁹⁹ Davies has studied Roman ash chests purchased in Rome in the late eighteenth century by Henry Blundell. These originally had no inscribed text in the panels reserved for it, and inscriptions were added only in the eighteenth century to increase the attractiveness of the chests for the collector.¹⁰⁰ She suggests that the ancient Roman commissioners and buyers may not have had inscriptions carved on the chests due to widespread illiteracy which would have made the added expense of a carved text on the blank panel a waste of money. If this was a genuine reason for the failure to inscribe texts on Roman gravestones, it can only be one of several possible ones. For the stones lacking inscriptions there are many parallels with today's stonemasons specializing in funerary monuments. A visitor to any such establishment is confronted with a selection of blank gravestones and plaques in standard shapes, sizes, and materials which require only the text to be supplied by the customer and inscribed by the stonemason.

⁹⁶ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tomb 5OS. A small tomb in the same cemetery was built in the last years of Pompeii, probably post-earthquake, and an earlier funerary inscription was used as part of the building material for it: D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tomb 17bOS.

⁹⁷ Susini 1973: 30–8.

⁹⁸ Espérandieu 1907–22: nos. 5478, 6246, 6945, 6954.

⁹⁹ *Natural History* 33. 122.

¹⁰⁰ Davies 2000: 103–4.

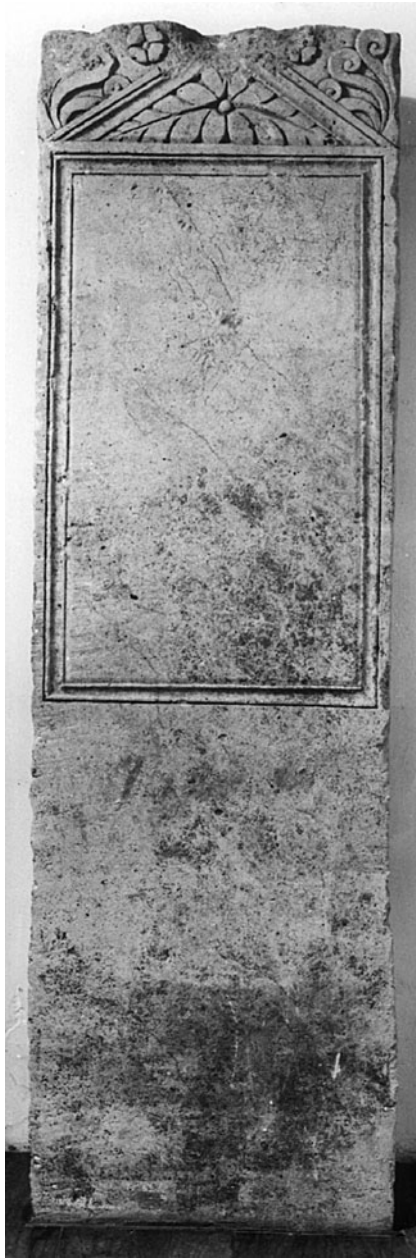


Figure 38. Ready-made *stele* from Mainz with a blank epitaph panel that was never inscribed, 1st century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz



Figure 39. Four identical gravestones for various members of the family of Bienus in Cologne, c. AD 50–70. The fourth gravestone was never inscribed. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

An example of a Roman gravestone prepared in advance is a first-century *stele* from Mainz (Fig. 38).¹⁰¹ The panel for the inscription and the carved pediment and vegetal motifs above it are perfectly finished, but there is not a word of inscribed text in the panel. There are other such monuments that awaited the finishing touch. A second-century gravestone from Eichhof near Treuchtlingen in Bavaria, carved with the depiction of a seated man and woman, has a lower panel that was roughened and meant to be smoothed and inscribed for a customer when the need arose.¹⁰² A particularly interesting set of four first-century gravestones comes from a cemetery, and most likely from a family burial plot, on Aachener Straße to the west of Cologne (Fig. 39). Judging by the matching saw marks on the backs of the stones, all four were cut from the same block of limestone, and they are almost identical in the way they are prepared and carved.¹⁰³ The inscription panel on each one is framed with incised lines, and above that are carved heraldically placed griffons or lions. It is certain that they were manufactured in the same sculptor's workshop. The commissioner of these stones was Bienus, a citizen of the Viromandui tribe from north-east France. He had one made for himself and his wife, one for his father, mother, and brothers, and one for his father-in-law, mother-in-law, and niece. The fourth stone has no inscription at all, and perhaps it was meant to be inscribed in the cemetery with the names of the future children of Bienus who, in the end, may never have been born or were never buried here.

Sarcophagi often were manufactured and delivered to the shop with some sections incomplete, so that the purchaser could have important personal details incorporated into the finished product. This often involved a roughly carved head in a medallion that was to be finished with the portrait features of the purchaser or person who was to be buried in it (Fig. 40). Many of these portrait medallions never were given the finishing touches, although the sarcophagi clearly were used for burials. A splendid marble sarcophagus with an unfinished portrait medallion once stood in the above-ground room of the mausoleum at Cologne-Weiden, although at some point it fell through the ceiling of the chamber below where it was found in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Another marble panel used to seal an inhumation niche in a tomb in the Pianabella area of Ostia has the roughly blocked-out head of a

¹⁰¹ Selzer 1988: 68.

¹⁰² Czyż *et al.* 1995: 304, fig. 82.

¹⁰³ *CIL* XIII. 8341, 8342, 8409/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 312, 313, 346; Röder 1960/1; Wierschowski 2001: no. 578.

¹⁰⁴ Deckers and Noelke 1980: 163–5, fig. 8. For other unfinished sarcophagi from tombs, see Koch 1990: 62, 64–5, figs. 4, 6–7; Walker 1990: 83, fig. 1c; Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 133, fig. 53 (from Tomb 34).



Figure 40. Unfinished marble sarcophagus of the third century in Rome with the roughly carved heads of a man and a woman and uninscribed epitaph panels. Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano

child.¹⁰⁵ In other cases, a three-dimensional figure of the deceased on the lid might have had only an unfinished head that needed the portrait features of the dead person carved on it to complete the sarcophagus.¹⁰⁶ A sarcophagus richly decorated with scenes from the Old and New Testaments found in 1974 in Arles-Trinquetaille was clearly manufactured in the fourth century AD for a married couple.¹⁰⁷ Two portrait busts in a sea-shell, one male, one female, occupy the centre of the relief scenes, and there are two empty epitaph medallions on the lid, one for each spouse. The epitaphs naming them were never carved, although inside the sarcophagus were the skeletons of a woman about 50 years old and of a man of about 60.

Sometimes a sarcophagus that was made for a man or a woman had to be used for someone of the opposite sex, requiring considerable alteration of the container. The name of a 17-year-old boy, Marcus Aurelius Romanus, was carved on a late third-century marble sarcophagus from the Via Tiburtina outside Rome, but the sarcophagus clearly had not been custom-made for him, because the portrait bust to the right of the inscription panel was meant to depict someone of the opposite sex.¹⁰⁸ The torso is clearly female, but the

¹⁰⁵ Agnoli 2001: 312, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Walker 1985: fig. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Sintès 1996: cat. no. 155.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* VI. 42302/Friggeri 2001: 93. For unfinished female figures that were finished as males, see Koch 1990: 62–6, figs. 3e–f, 8, 9–10; Walker 1990: 93–4, fig. 4a.

head has been worked to portray the features of the dead boy. An imported Greek sarcophagus of the mid-third century in Arles originally had the figures of a reclining couple on the lid.¹⁰⁹ The female figure at the front was transformed into that of a man, whilst the reclining male figure behind was chiselled away. Moreover, the decorative motifs in low relief on the vertical face of the lid were erased to make room for a panel for an inscription. After all this effort, the panel never was inscribed. We can only assume that the imported sarcophagus either was purchased in a shop in Arles and altered by a local sculptor for the owner, or that the sarcophagus already belonged to someone who, in the end, needed it quickly, not for himself or herself, but for a male family member who had died suddenly and for whom the sarcophagus was altered. Why no name was carved on the panel is a matter of conjecture. But there are many other sarcophagi with uninscribed epitaph panels, despite the fact that the containers were used for burials.¹¹⁰ The family tombs of the later empire, in which we find such sarcophagi, were built for much smaller groups of people than the vast *columbaria* of the early empire. One could argue that it was no longer necessary to identify the occupant of a sarcophagus by an inscribed name in such tombs because individual graves would have been easier to find and identify by visitors to the tomb. But then why would workshops have bothered to include a blank epitaph panel at all if it were not meant to be inscribed?

WORKSHOPS AND ATELIERS

Many funerary monuments consisted of more than just an inscription, and in the style, selection, and execution of pictorial motifs carved on monuments, regional styles and workshop connections can be recognized in various Roman cities. Although the *stele*, altar, or panel with a portrait of the deceased individual or with multiple portraits of the family grouping was a fairly common type of memorial in Italy and in the southern cities of Gallia Narbonensis in the first century AD, the many variant combinations of portraits suggest that the commissioner indeed specified what images should be carved on the monument. The man/woman or the man/woman/child combination may have been relatively standard and a predictable choice, and such stones could have been prepared in advance of sale by carving busts in rough form that were given personalized details when the stone

¹⁰⁹ Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 133/ Sintès 1996: cat. no. 153.

¹¹⁰ Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 132, 155, 170, 179; Sintès 1996: cat. no. 151, 156.

was purchased.¹¹¹ Alternatively, the part of the stone reserved for portraits might not have been worked at all. A second-century stone from Bordeaux, for example, has the inscription carved above a very shallow niche, but the niche itself never was carved out for the depiction of the deceased.¹¹² This should have been a portrait of Flavius Pollianus Eburius or of him together with his wife Valeria, as both are named in the inscription.

There are other groupings which were more unusual and which required special manufacture from the beginning. This may have included two women and a man, two women, or three men.¹¹³ A made-to-order stone is a funerary altar from Nîmes bearing the likenesses of a man, woman, and boy in a niche at the top, as well as the portrait of a man in a rectangular panel below left (Fig. 41).¹¹⁴ The inscriptions on the remaining lower right and on the base of the altar are the only things that explain the identity and relationships of these individuals. They tell us that this is the monument that Iulia Homullina set up for herself, her husband, her son, and her brother. Seven individuals are depicted on a tall stele of the second half of the first century AD from Ravenna.¹¹⁵ The three figures in the top panel are easily recognizable as a couple with their child, and the inscription confirms that they are Gaius Marius Clemens, his wife Maria Tespia, and their son Sabinus. In the lower panel are two male portrait busts, freedmen of Clemens, whose identity, social status, and connections with each other would remain unknown without the accompanying inscription.

Workshop connections are discernible in some western regions, particularly in the Rhineland where the stones have been studied in this regard.¹¹⁶ The type of monument used for Bienus and his family can be found inscribed with the names of deceased soldiers in first-century Cologne, and the type may be a speciality of Cologne's stonemasons since it is not found anywhere else in the German provinces.¹¹⁷ Another type of grave *stele*, the so-called niche *stele* which has a carved bust of the deceased in the upper half of the

¹¹¹ Narbonne: *CIL* XII. 4664/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 662; Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 6900. Nîmes: *CIL* XII. 3175/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 478; *CIL* XII. 3241/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 481. Arles: *CIL* XII. 762/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 194; Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 196.

¹¹² *CIL* XIII. 617/Rémy 1984: 133–4, fig. 12.

¹¹³ Mother/daughter/son: *CIL* XII. 4920 (Narbonne). Two women: *CIL* XII. 3498 (Nîmes). Three men: Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 654 (Narbonne).

¹¹⁴ *CIL* XII. 3015/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 490; Hope 2001: pl. 30A.

¹¹⁵ *CIL* XI. 195/196/Pflug 1989: no. 34, pl. 3.1. For other north Italian *stelae* with six or seven portraits of the deceased, family members and freedmen, see *CIL* XI. 28/Pflug 1989: no. 8, pl. 1.1 (Ravenna); *CIL* XI. 6825/Pflug 1989: no. 44, pls. 9.1–3 (Bologna); *CIL* V. 579/Pflug 1989: no. 79, pl. 18.4 (Trieste).

¹¹⁶ Gabelmann 1972; Bauchhenß 1975; Faust 1998.

¹¹⁷ *CIL* XIII. 8276/*ILS* 2324/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 207; *CIL* XIII. 12061/*ILS* 9159/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 262.



Figure 41. Funerary altar of Iulia Homullina, her husband, her son, and her brother in Nîmes, 2nd century AD. Musée archéologique, Nîmes

stone, was popular in Cologne, and some were made in the same workshop. These include two early first-century stones of a veterinarian of the twentieth legion and a trumpeter of the first legion that were cut from the same limestone block and set up in the same cemetery to the south of the city (Fig. 42).¹¹⁸ This type of *stele* also was used in the first two decades of the first century AD for a young woman called Bella (Fig. 3), for a slave-trader named Aiadius (Fig. 67), both buried in Cologne, and for another woman called Polla Matidia who died in Moers-Asberg to the north of Neuss.¹¹⁹ All three civilian stones, and the two stones of the legionaries, are so very similar in every detail,

¹¹⁸ *CIL* XIII. 8287/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 222; *CIL* XIII. 8275/*ILS* 2351/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 206.

¹¹⁹ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 310/Carroll 2001: 90, fig. 43/Wierschowski 2001: no. 660; *CIL* XIII. 8348/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 321; *CIL* XIII. 12075/Carroll 2001: 108, fig. 50. On the group, see Gabelmann 1972: 94–104.



Figure 42. Gravestones of a veterinarian from *Legio XX* (left) and a trumpeter of *Legio I* (right) that, although of slightly different dimensions, were cut from the same limestone block and set up in the same cemetery south of Cologne, early 1st century AD. Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye

including the drapery and facial features of the deceased, that they must have been produced in the same workshop. Nevertheless, the inscriptions on these stones obviously were carved by different letter-cutters, indicating that different specialists worked together in any given workshop. Three *stelae* found in Campalano di Nogara in northern Italy are almost identical, both in their relief decoration and in the style and craftsmanship of the inscriptions carved on them.¹²⁰ One was carved for Lucius Truttadius for himself and his wife, one for his parents, and a third for his brother, and it is certain that they were made in the same workshop around AD 50.

A number of local couples who died around the mid-first century AD in Mainz, and were buried in the cemetery in Mainz-Weisenau or in places

¹²⁰ Pflug 1989: nos. 251–3, pls. 38.1–3. On workshop connections in respect of the *columbarium* epitaph slabs, see Manacorda 1980.

nearby, appear to have had their monuments made in the same or closely related workshops in that town.¹²¹ They chose the motif of the standing or seated woman accompanied by a seated man, both figures at least partially in Celtic costume, and the man clutching a rather large money bag in one hand (Fig. 44). Other workshops appear to have been responsible for a number of gravestones of auxiliary cavalry men who are depicted on horseback galloping over a fallen enemy. These are particularly popular in Mainz, but their distribution covers a larger area between Worms, Bonn, and Cologne, although the stones from Bonn, and Cologne are lacking the fallen enemy.¹²² It has been suggested that the elaborate third-century tombstones of Regina, wife of Barates the Syrian (Fig. 19), and of Victor, a young Moorish freedman, both from South Shields, were carved in the same workshop by a sculptor who had learned his trade in the eastern empire, possibly in Palmyra in Syria.¹²³

CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS, AND ERASURES ON EPITAPHS

Errors very frequently crept in during the cutting of the inscriptions on funerary monuments. Mistakes in 'translating' cursive script into capitals could occur, or formulae from manuals could be incorrectly copied.¹²⁴ The success of the letter-cutter in setting and cutting text properly, judging the size of the letters and balancing the length of the lines will have depended not only on technical skill, but also on the level of understanding of the text given to him to cut. It should not be surprising if some letter-cutters had only limited literacy skills, but more or less competently copied what was put before them by the workshop manager. The letter-cutter who worked on a commemorative plaque from Portus began the epitaph on one side, but gave up before it was completed or turned the plaque over and tried again.¹²⁵ The lettering looks clumsy, and the name of the deceased is misspelt as M. VAIERIO. The inscription was recut on the other side of the slab, but apparently by another letter-cutter who spelled the name correctly, M. VALERIO, and who cut the

¹²¹ *CIL* XIII. 7067/Selzer 1988: 110/Carroll 2001: 58, fig. 25; Selzer 1988: 107; Selzer 1988: 117. See the compilation of these stones in *CSIR* II, 6, nos. 1–9, pls. 1–13. The type is discussed by Gabelmann 1972: 111–15, and Bauchhenß 1975: 88–91.

¹²² *CIL* XIII. 7025/Selzer 1988: 86; *CIL* XIII. 7029/Selzer 1988: 87/Carroll 2001: 90, fig. 44; *CIL* XIII. 7023/Selzer 1988: 88; *CIL* XIII. 6234; *CIL* XIII. 11709; *CIL* XIII. 8094; *CIL* XIII. 8308/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 252. See *CSIR* II, 5, nos. 27–49, pls. 25–43; Hope 2001: 41–2.

¹²³ De la Bédoyère 2001: 160; *RIB* 1065, 1064.

¹²⁴ Ireland 1983. On mistakes made by letter-cutters, see Susini 1973: 39–49.

¹²⁵ Thylander 1952: A263 and 263a. Four(!) attempts were made at inscribing the epitaph of Merula in Mérida: Handley 2003: 32.

letters in a crisper, more accomplished manner. Perhaps the customer, or the customer's family, was not satisfied with the first attempt and demanded a better inscription on the reverse side. The marble epitaph of Tryphena, commissioned by her co-slave Parthenius, in Canosa is full of errors that the letter-cutter attempted to correct.¹²⁶ These include the word *conservae*, originally spelled *conserae* with the 'S' written backwards and the misspelling and repetition (twice) of *Parthenio fecit*. The epitaph on the tombstone of the veteran Cassius Secundus from Chester was set within a *tabula ansata*, but the inscription itself is completely off-centre in the frame provided for it.¹²⁷

Often, the letter-cutter did not properly calculate how much space he would need for each line of text and ran out of space at the end of the line so that letters spill out over the frame provided and are cut over the raised border for the epitaph.¹²⁸ The letter-cutter of the gravestone of Marcus Aurelius Eucarpus in London ran out of space at the bottom of the panel, squeezing the remaining words in at half the height of the others.¹²⁹ Many of the masons who cut inscriptions were indeed 'inscriptional artists', as Ireland refers to them, but there were some who were clearly not very adept at cutting inscriptions.¹³⁰ One wonders where the mason of the gravestone of Gaius Valerius Taurus in Mainz had learnt his trade, since the letters are extremely crudely cut and the lines of the incised frame around the epitaph are neither straight nor parallel (Fig. 43).¹³¹

That alterations and additions by sculptors and letter-cutters were to be made to gravestones already standing in the cemetery is illustrated by the number of incomplete or blank stones fixed to monuments. The uninscribed fourth gravestone on the family burial plot of Bienus in Cologne already stood in the cemetery, so that the names of whoever was later buried here would have had to be carved by a letter-cutter *in situ* rather than in the workshop (Fig. 39). The husband and wife, Blussus and Menimane, who were buried around the mid-first century in Mainz were commemorated by a stone inscribed on both sides that she had commissioned while she was alive (Fig. 44).¹³² Although his age is given as 75, the space for her age details was left blank so that it could be filled once she had died, but these details never were put on the stone. This might have been an oversight, or the son, Primus, who is also named in the epitaph, neglected to have the blank filled

¹²⁶ Silvestrini 1999: no. Ce10.

¹²⁷ *RIB* 526; Mason 2001: 127–8, fig. 75.

¹²⁸ *CIL* XII. 4885; *CIL* XII. 5194; *CIL* XIII. 6902/Selzer 1988: 31.

¹²⁹ *RIB* 10.

¹³⁰ Ireland 1983: 220.

¹³¹ Selzer 1988: 11.

¹³² *CIL* XIII. 7067/Gabelmann 1972: 111, fig. 31/Selzer 1988: 110/*CSIR* II, 6. 2/Carroll 2001: 58, 97, figs. 25, 48.



Figure 43. Crudely inscribed gravestone of Gaius Valerius Taurus from Narbonne who served in *Legio IV Macedonica* in Mainz, c. AD 50. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

in. Interestingly, on the front side of the stone, there are four small holes around the head of Menimane which may have been cut to accommodate a 'mask' of wood or metal covering her face until her death when it would have been removed to reveal Menimane's features. These same features are to be found on a few first- and second-century *stelae* in Metz on the Moselle, in Mainz-Weisenau on the middle Rhine, and Egerndach in Bavaria.¹³³ Holes cut into either shoulder and on either side of the head indicate that the face on each of these stones had been covered temporarily.

Sometimes standing stones were partially erased and recut as a reaction to a new, and perhaps unforeseen, situation. On a *stèle* of the Claudian period from Bonn, the name of the freedman Volumnius Pudens was written in one hand, but squeezed into the bottom of the panel and running over below it the words *et Auctu lib* were inscribed in a different hand, almost certainly because the freedman Auctus was later allowed burial and commemoration with Pudens.¹³⁴ Claudius Severinus and his sister Claudia Hammonilla jointly set up an inscribed funerary altar in Ostia to their father, Tiberius Claudius Severus, but when she died, her name was added, presumably by the surviving brother, to the top block of the altar.¹³⁵ The slave Barbarula from Nîmes was given an inscribed *stèle* in the second century AD by her fellow slaves Barbara, Philumenus and Helicon, but at a later date when Barbara and Philumenus themselves died, their names were squeezed in below the main epitaph in smaller, less accomplished letters.¹³⁶ The marble panel inserted in the masonry of the tomb of Petronia Erotis and her husband at Portus already had an inscription, but a line later was added pertaining to the rights of access to the tomb.¹³⁷

Atania Polla's epitaph on her tomb (Tomb 23) on the Via Laurentina in Ostia had almost two full lines of inscribed text neatly erased.¹³⁸

ATANIA D F POLLA MATER

C ATANIO C F BASSO PIO PROBO

PUDENTI FILIO SUO DULCISSIMO

DE SUA PEQUNIA FECIT ET SIBI ////

////////////////////////////////////

//////////////////////////////// HOC MONUMENTUM SIVE

SEPULCHRUM HEREDES NON SEQUETUR IN FR P XXX IN AG P XXIV

This tomb had been built by her, with her own money, for her dead son (Gaius Atanius Bassus) and herself, but there were others to be included in the tomb, almost certainly her freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants. At

¹³³ Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 4314; *CSIR* II, 6. 1; *CSIR* I, 1. 548, pl. 159.

¹³⁴ *CSIR* III, 2. 6. ¹³⁵ Thylander 1952: A70–1.

¹³⁶ *CIL* XII. 3467; Hope 2001: pl. 34. ¹³⁷ Thylander 1952: A196.

¹³⁸ Floriani Squarciapino 1958: 97–8, 152–3, pl. XXIII.1.

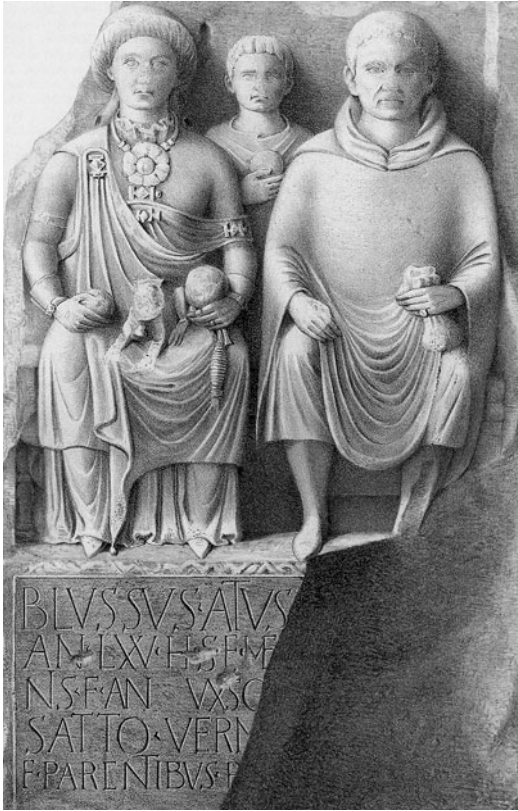


Figure 44. One side of the gravestone of Menimane and Blussus from Mainz, c. AD 50. A space was left for her age at death, but this was never completed. Note the holes on either side of her face where a 'mask' or panel shielded her portrait until she died. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

least part of the erased text (erasure signified as //) should likely read: *et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum* (and for her freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants). For some reason, after the epitaph had been carved, Atania Polla decided that her dependants should not be buried with her.

Lucius Fabius Faustus in Narbonne had a *stèle* inscribed during his lifetime with his name and the name of his wife (Fig. 45):¹³⁹

¹³⁹ CIL XII. 4795.



Figure 45. Rounded-top *stèle* set up for Lucius Fabius Faustus and his wife in Narbonne, probably 1st century AD. Her name has been chiselled away, leaving only the word ‘wife’ (*coniux*) intact, Musée Lapidaire, Narbonne

(vi)V
L. FABIVS
FAVSTVS SI(bi)
/////////////////
///////// CONIUG(i)
P Q XV

At some point the name of the wife was erased (/////////), leaving only the word ‘wife’ (*coniugi*) intact. Perhaps he divorced or rejected her, and no longer wanted her name on his tomb (see Chapter 7).

Some change of plan or decisive event is also evident on a marble plaque from Emerita Augusta in Spain originally naming five owners of a tomb.¹⁴⁰

P VARIO Q F PAP LIGURI
LICINIAE C L THELI D S F C
P VARIO P F PAP SEVERO
VARIAE P F AVITAE D S F C
/////////////////////////////////////
SOCERO SOCROI SOCERINO
UXSORI ///////////////////////////////////
IULIA Q F SEVERA
H M S S E H N

¹⁴⁰ AE 1983: 494; Edmondson 2000: 323–4, fig. 10.

A man whose name was later erased (/////////) set up this tomb for his father-in-law (*socero*) Publius Varius Ligur, his mother-in-law (*socrui*) Licinia Thelis, his brother-in-law (*socerino*) Publius Varius Severus, and his wife (*uxori*) Varia Avita. Not only was the man's name erased, but also the formula *ET SIBI F C* (and did this for himself). Another name was later added by a different letter-cutter, Iulia Severa (possibly the daughter of Varia Avita and her rejected husband), indicating that someone else was admitted into this burial community. The last line determined that no heirs from an external family were to take possession of the tomb. We do not know what this man did to disgrace himself, but his wife and her family joined ranks to see him excluded from the tomb and his memory eradicated.

On the funerary monument of the Rabirii from the Via Appia a few miles outside Rome three individuals originally were commemorated in the late first century BC (Fig. 46).¹⁴¹ These were Gaius Rabirius Hermodorus and Rabiria Demaris, both former slaves, as well as another man. For some unknown reason, the third male figure on the right later was reworked and the accompanying inscription altered. In its place, a likeness of Usia Prima, a



Figure 46. Marble portrait panel from the tomb of the Rabirii on the Via Appia outside Rome, late 1st century BC. The figure on the right originally was that of a man, but was reworked into a likeness of a priestess of Isis

¹⁴¹ *CIL* VI. 2246/Zanker 1975: fig. 1/Kleiner 1977: no. 63, fig. 63; Eisner 1986: 47–8, pls. 13.3–4.

priestess of Isis, was carved, and the name below that had belonged to the original male figure was cut back about half a centimetre to accommodate the new epitaph. The head of the male figure was reworked to a carefully coiffed female one, but the male torso was not altered, with the result that Usia Prima is quite clearly lacking breasts.

Conveying a Message

Sacred to the spirits of the dead. Badia, aged fifty-eight. She looked after her own. Here she lies. May the earth lie lightly on you! You who linger and read my epitaph: Shows! Games! And come!

(Funerary inscription of the second century AD from Córdoba:
CIL II. 2262)

OPENING AND CLOSING INVOCATIONS

From the reign of Augustus occasionally, and from middle of the first century AD much more commonly, the epitaph is prefaced by an invocation ‘to the spirits of the dead’ (the *Manes*), written as *Dis Manibus*, and later abbreviated to *D M*.¹ In Gaul and Germany, the introductory *D M* was expanded from the mid-second century to read ‘*D M et Memoriae*’ (to the spirits of the dead and the memory of . . .), and from the beginning of the third century the ‘eternal memory’ (*memoriae aeternae*) or the ‘eternal rest’ (*quieti aeternae*) of the deceased become common invocations (see Appendix, Nos. 2–5, 7, 9–14, 18, 20–2, 24). A tomb dating to AD 165 in Rome has an inscription introduced by *D M et somno aeternali, securitati memoriaeque perpetuae* (eternal sleep, security, and perpetual memory).² A variety of expressions, usually at the end of the epitaph, is used to indicate what kind of interment was made. These include so-and-so ‘lies here’ (*hic cubat* or *hic situs est*; see Appendix, No. 8, 24),³ or ‘is buried here’ (*hic est sepultus*),⁴ or ‘rests here’ (*hic adquiescit*).⁵ The bones of an individual can ‘lie concealed’ (*ossa inlata*),⁶ or ‘lie here’ (*ossa hic cubant*),⁷

¹ See Lattimore 1942: 90–5, on the *Manes*, and Raepsaet-Charlier 2002 on regional variations in the writing and abbreviation of this formula.

² CIL VI. 18378/ILS 8022.

³ CIL I. 1429/ILS 7958; CIL II. 3082/Knapp 1992: no. 214; CIL VI. 14150; CIL VI. 15573.

⁴ CIL VI. 13996/ILS 7951; CIL VI. 16912; CIL XII. 4455; CIL XII. 4845.

⁵ CIL VI. 20502; CIL VI. 21696; CIL XI. 1436/ILS 7258; CIL XIII. 2059.

⁶ CIL VI. 16068; CIL VI. 17144; CIL XIV. 3328/ILS 7974.

⁷ CIL VI. 33444/ILS 7975.

or 'are situated here' (*ossa condita*),⁸ whereby the bones, at least until the early second century AD, normally were cremated, and were therefore really just ashes. A body can be 'placed' (*corpus positum*)⁹ or be 'cremated' (*corpus crematum est*).¹⁰

A precious detail included at the end of some inscriptions, but, unfortunately for the archaeologist, not on most of them, is the naming of the consuls in the year in which the tomb was erected or the burial site appropriated. This information places the passing of the individual and the erection of the monument in a specific temporal context, much like the naming in inscriptions on public architecture of the officials in whose period of office the work took place. If consuls are named in funerary inscriptions, they appear most frequently in those texts that contain information on the sale, transaction, or establishment of property for burial, including the purchase or donation of niches in *columbaria*. Sextus Iulius Aquila, whose will containing instructions for many aspects of his burial and his tomb in Langres in Gaul has survived, wanted the names of the magistrates during whose term of office his elaborate tomb was built to be included in the inscription.¹¹ It would appear, as in public architecture, that these inscriptions were thought of as records of legally binding negotiations and contracts, the inscribed text publicly demonstrating that the transaction and execution of a place of burial were done properly. The legally binding aspect of such a transaction is perfectly clear in a funerary inscription from the Via Ostiensis outside Rome that preserves extracts from the text of two documents, one a request for a plot of land for the construction of a tomb, the other the official response of the land-owner, the *collegium* of Faustina Mater and Faustina Pia. The text is dated on 25 July 227, when Albinus and Maximus were consuls.¹² Thus, the inscription preserves, and is a permanent copy of, official correspondence finalizing the grant of land for burial purposes, and, fixed to the funerary monument itself, it was there for all to see.

Pobjoy sees the propagation of inscribed texts, particularly on public buildings, as influenced by the desire to record permanently and very visibly the completion and fulfilment of an obligation involving compulsory services or benefaction, as well as by the desire to advertise one's virtues in having dutifully supervised or paid for the construction of buildings and other public

⁸ CIL VI. 15543; CIL VI. 18677a; CIL VI. 18758; CIL VI. 27526/ILS 7973.

⁹ CIL VI. 22636; CIL VI. 35279/ILS 7964.

¹⁰ CIL VI. 21516/ILS 8019.

¹¹ CIL XIII. 5708/ILS 8379; Hatt 1951: 66–9; Lavagne 1987: 162–3.

¹² CIL VI. 33840; Friggeri 2001: 147. For other inscriptions with consular dates, see: CIL VI. 7303/ILS 7863; CIL VI. 8775; CIL VI. 9326/ILS 7864; CIL VI. 10237/ILS 7870; CIL VI. 10293/ILS 7918; Thylander 1952: A195.

works.¹³ Perhaps one could push the analogy with public buildings a little bit further by regarding funerary monuments as self-commissioned honorific monuments advertising the names, and perhaps displaying the images, of individuals who never could have had the wealth, status, and official position to commission a public building that bore one's name for posterity (see Chapter 2). A sense of duty virtuously fulfilled is also conveyed by funerary inscriptions naming the deceased and the dedicator, particularly in those inscriptions that advertise the generosity of the dedicator. This applies to epitaphs claiming that the erection of the monument was neither prescribed in a will, nor verbally requested, but was done by the dedicator in recognition of the merits of the deceased.¹⁴ It also applies to inscriptions stating that the monument was set up by the commemorator out of his own funds (*de suo*), implying that there had been no legal obligation to do so, but one felt duty bound to make this final magnanimous gesture.¹⁵

NAMES AND PERSONAL DATA

The introductory passage in funerary inscriptions is followed by the name of the deceased. The name was of obvious importance in the epitaph, but in some rare cases this surprisingly was not recorded. Iulia Phronime, for example, had an urn containing her husband's remains inscribed with her own name as commemorator, but she did not have his name written on it.¹⁶ The name of a ship's carpenter and veteran of the twenty-second legion is given on his stone in Mainz, but it is abbreviated by the letter-cutter as 'M M M', so his full name remains a mystery, and might have been unknown at the time to anyone other than his wife who had the stone made.¹⁷ Interestingly, his wife's name as the commemorator is written in full. The name of the deceased might be all that is inscribed, apart from the introductory *Dis Manibus*, especially if the deceased was of servile status. This is evidently the case in inscriptions from Rome and Portus which, to cite just two examples, may simply say 'The bones of Polla Valeria' (*ossa Pollae Valeriae*), and 'The ashes of Iulia Auge' (*cineres Iuliae Auge*).¹⁸

¹³ Pobjoy 2000: 90–2.

¹⁴ *CIL* XII. 3564 (Nîmes); *CIL* XII. 5273, 5274 (Narbonne); *CIL* XIII. 2312 (Lyon).

¹⁵ *CIL* XIII. 6870/Selzer 1988: 14; *CIL* XIII. 6857/Selzer 1988: 17; *CIL* XIII. 7070/Selzer 1988: 116/CSIR II, 6. 52.

¹⁶ Thylander 1952: A154. See also the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus where Messia Candida dedicates a tomb (Tomb 89) to an unnamed husband: Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 67.

¹⁷ *CIL* XIII. 11861/Selzer 1988: 64.

¹⁸ *CIL* VI. 28244; *CIL* XIV. 1180/Thylander 1952: B94.

Roman personal names, if they consisted of the forename (*praenomen*), family name (*nomen*), and surname (*cognomen*), expressed the possession of Roman citizenship, so for the freeborn who had citizenship since birth, but particularly for those who had acquired it later in life, the *tria nomina* inscribed in the epitaph was, in itself, an important element of the display of status. The acquisition of Roman citizenship is occasionally stated in epitaphs such as that of Gaius Iulius Vepus from Celeia in Slovenia.¹⁹ This epitaph states that he was given Roman citizenship and freedom by the divine Augustus. In addition to the name of the deceased, the name of the father or mother is commonly given, the filiation being shown by inscribing an 'f' for *filius* or *filia* after the name of the deceased (e.g. *C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Verecundus* = Gaius Iulius Verecundus, son of Gaius).²⁰ A similar sequence and structure of the names was used by slaves who had been freed and enfranchised. Although not related by family ties, freedmen recorded their affiliation with their patron by the insertion of an 'l' for *libertus* (rather than an 'f') after the name of the patron (e.g. *C(aius) Ninnius C(ai) l(ibertus) Tertius* = Gaius Ninnius Tertius, freedman of Gaius).²¹ Considering the substantial difference in status between freeborn men and freedmen, it must have been a huge *faux pas* when the letter-cutter of an epitaph for Gaius Paccius carved *G. Paccius G. l.* rather than *G. Paccius G. f.*; the letter 'l' for *libertus* was then changed to an 'f' for *filius* to clarify that Gaius Paccius was indeed freeborn.²²

The other most frequent bit of information included on funerary epitaphs is the age of the deceased, sometimes expanded to include not only the years, but also the months, days, and hours the person lived. Titus Aelius Saturninus, who died in Rome, for example, lived six years, eight months, sixteen days, and six hours.²³ Petronia Stolis, who was buried in Tomb 99 at Isola Sacra, lived twenty years, twenty-two days, and four hours.²⁴ In the inscriptions of those who died whilst actively serving in the military, the age in years and also the number of years served as a soldier is given, for example, *Caius Annus Salutus . . . an(norum) XXXIII, stip(endiorum) XI* (see Appendix, Nos. 6, 8).²⁵ There are various ways of giving the age at death on civilian stones. An epitaph can record that the deceased 'lived for thirty years' (*vixit annis XXX*), or was 'of thirty years' (*annorum XXX*).²⁶

¹⁹ *CIL* III. 5232/*ILS* 1977.

²⁰ *CIL* XIII. 8090.

²¹ *ILTG* 144.

²² *CIL* XI. 201/Pflug 1989: no. 7, pl. 1.2.

²³ *CIL* VI. 10791. See also *CIL* VI. 7788/*ILS* 8219, *CIL* VI. 12446, and *CIL* VI. 24799/*ILS* 8220 for specific age details down to the hours.

²⁴ Thylander 1952: A197/Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 45.

²⁵ *CIL* XIII. 6953/Selzer 1988: 35.

²⁶ *CIL* XIII. 609, 613, 629, 627, 709.

In inscriptions belonging to individuals of servile status, the age might be included, but this was not always the case. Sometimes the occupation of the individual slave was stated, as in the case of 'Crecusa, the wool-weigher' or 'Musa, the seamstress' in Rome.²⁷ Further information in the epitaphs of slaves might include the name of the commemorator: 'To Italia, dressmaker of Cocceia Phyllis. She lived twenty years. Acastus, her fellow slave, put this up because she was poor.'²⁸ Slaves, particularly those owned by the emperor, often made an effort to record their relationship with the owners in order to express status within the servile milieu: 'To Paezusa, hairdresser of Octavia, daughter of Caesar Augustus (Claudius), who lived eighteen years. Philetus, silver-slave of Octavia, daughter of Caesar Augustus, put this up for his dearest wife and for himself' (see Chapter 8, and Appendix, No. 17).²⁹ Freedmen and freedwomen frequently did the same, associating their own reputation with that of their sometimes illustrious former owner. The inscription on an Aquileian funerary altar commissioned by Arria Trophime, for example, outlines a career, but it is the career of her former owner and patron, Lucius Arrius Macer, an army veteran and *decurio* of Aquileia.³⁰

A further personal detail frequently recorded in epitaphs, particularly on military gravestones, is the origin of the individual. This was important for the legionary soldier who, as a citizen, had the right to vote and was a member of a voting district (*tribus*) somewhere in the empire. Quintus Petilius Secundus who died around AD 50 in Bonn, for example, came from the voting district of Oufentina and had his home in Milan, ancient Mediolanum.³¹ By stating the voting district to which the deceased belonged, Roman citizenship was immediately apparent to anyone who read the epitaph. The ethnic origin of non-Roman auxiliary troops is expressed in funerary epitaphs, but by the inclusion of the term *cives* or *natione*, 'citizen of' or 'member of' a particular tribe. Hemilius Lascius, who was buried in Cologne, for example, was a *cives Cannanefas*, the territory of the Cananefates being situated at the mouth of the Rhine river.³² Many of the men who served in the Germanic bodyguard of the emperors in Rome were commemorated with inscriptions that record their ethnic origin as *natione Batavus*, *natione Ubius*, *natione Suebus*, or *natione Baetasius* (Fig. 47, see Appendix, No. 16).³³

²⁷ *CIL* VI. 9496; *CIL* VI. 6350.

²⁸ *CIL* VI. 9980/*ILS* 7428.

²⁹ *CIL* VI. 5539.

³⁰ *CIL* V. 889/Dexheimer 2000: 81–2.

³¹ *CIL* XIII. 8079/*ILS* 2275/Horn 1987: fig. 5.

³² *CIL* XIII. 8316/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 267.

³³ *CIL* VI. 8802/*ILS* 1729; *CIL* VI. 8803/*ILS* 1730; *CIL* VI. 8806/*ILS* 1727; *CIL* VI. 8807/*ILS* 1725; *CIL* VI. 8808/*ILS* 1728; *CIL* VI. 8809/*ILS* 1726; *CIL* VI. 8810/*ILS* 1724; *AE* 1952: 145, 147, 148. The definitive work on the Germanic bodyguard is Bellen 1981.



Figure 47. Travertine gravestone of a Germanic man with the Latinized name Fannius who served as an imperial bodyguard in Rome, mid-first century AD. Museo Nazionale alle Terme di Diocleziano

The origins of the deceased also are to be found in civilian epitaphs, although less frequently than on memorials of military personnel. Gaius Tullius Flavianus, who died in Antibes, came from Catania in Sicily (see Appendix, No. 15).³⁴ Gaius Annaeus Atticus in Portus came from the province of Gallia Aquitania (*ex Aquitania*).³⁵ The merchant Marcus Secundius Genialis, who was buried in Aquileia, had his home in Cologne (*domo Cl. Agrip.*).³⁶ Iulius Alexsander, an African and a citizen of Carthage, was a glass manufacturer who died in Lyon (see Appendix, No. 13; Fig. 9).³⁷ Apart from the information on such epitaphs concerning the many and varied professions of the deceased, through which we gain insight into the economy, details on the origins of individuals facilitate attempts to map population movement throughout the empire (see Chapters 8–9).

Other information on military tombstones includes the unit in which the soldier served, sometimes also the century, *turma*, or *contubernium* to which

³⁴ CIL XII. 178.

³⁵ Thylander 1952: A13.

³⁶ CIL V. 1047/ILS 7526.

³⁷ CIL XIII. 2000/ILS 7648/Wierschowski 2001: no. 469.

he belonged, for example, *m(iles) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), c(enturia) Q(uinti) Helvi(i) Bucconis* (soldier of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina, century of Quintus Helvius Bucco), or *Ala Parto(rum) et Araborum turma Variagnis* (the cavalry unit of Parthians and Arabians, squadron of Variagnis).³⁸ In Naples, Puteoli, Ravenna, Misenum, and Ostia, the inscriptions on many stones belonging to soldiers of the Roman fleet stationed at Misenum and Ravenna name the ship on which the deceased served. This is abbreviated, for example, as *III Iove* (trireme Jupiter), *III Sole* (trireme Sun), or *III Mercurio* (trireme Mercury).³⁹ The rank of the deceased can also form part of the recorded message. It is with some pride that Mamilia Prisca commemorated her husband, Lucius Numerius Felix, in Tarragona in Spain with a list of the legions with which he had served as a centurion (*Legio VII Gemina, Legio XX Victrix, Legio III Cyrenaica, Legio XXII Primigenia, and Legio III Italica*).⁴⁰

The majority of serving soldiers were given a burial and a commemorative stone by their comrades, since they were not legally able to marry and, therefore, could not appoint their common-law wife or illegitimate children born out of that union as heirs responsible for their burial. We may assume that either the soldier left instructions in his will for the style and content of his memorial with a comrade or mate, most likely his heir, or that the memorial was chosen by the heir who knew the deceased well enough or had access to his records to be able to have the details of origin, age, and length of service inscribed on the stone. Non-Romans by civil law did not have the right to make a valid will, which would have made it impossible for auxiliary soldiers to leave binding instructions behind or name an heir, but one of the concessions made to soldiers without Roman citizenship was that they could draw up a will and appoint an heir. Many of the epitaphs of auxiliaries end with the abbreviation *ex testamento* (according to the will), and almost always an heir (*heres*), whose name might be given, is said in the inscription to be responsible for setting up the memorial (*heres faciendum curavit*) (see Appendix, No. 6). The heir had the moral obligation to bury the dead, and if not only the burial but also a monument was specified in the will, the heir also was morally bound to fulfil this duty.⁴¹

³⁸ CIL XIII. 6907; CSIR II, 5. 29/Selzer 1988: 91.

³⁹ CIL XIV. 233/Thylander 1952: B18; CIL XIV. 242/Thylander 1952: B70; CIL X. 3458/ILS 2856. Other ship names include *Vesta, Iuno, Aesculapius, Fide, Dana, Diana, Concordia, Lucifer, Rhenu*, and *Providentia*: ILS 2833; CIL X. 3376/ILS 2854; CIL X. 3436/ILS 2854; CIL X. 3454/ILS 2861; ILS 2864; CIL X. 3482/ILS 2865; CIL X. 3486/ILS 2866; CIL X. 3498/ILS 2877; CIL X. 3395/ILS 2883; CIL X. 3407/ILS 2885; CIL XI. 39/ILS 2904; CIL X. 3501/ILS 2875; CIL XI. 30/ILS 2876/Pflug 1989: no. 2, pl. 4.4; CIL XI. 11/Pflug 1989: no. 3; CIL XIV. 239/Thylander 1952: B105.

⁴⁰ CIL II. 4162.

⁴¹ Meyer 1990.

REGIONALISM IN EPIGRAPHIC FORMULAE

Although funerary epitaphs appear to be very similar throughout the western empire, a closer examination of them indicates that there are clear differences in invocations, expressions, sentiments, and abbreviations, depending on the period and the place. Given that letter-cutters in any community may have had manuals or stock texts from which to choose, and that most customers tended to conform to the 'norms' of funerary epigraphy seen in the cemeteries surrounding them, such differences can be helpful in recognizing regional customs. We have already seen in Chapter 3 how the expression *sub ascia dedicavit* (dedicated while still under the hammer) was particularly popular in Lyon and in the towns of the Rhône valley. The closing greeting *ave et vale* (greetings and farewell) is typical for the epitaphs in Palma on Mallorca, and they also are common in Cartagena on the nearby Spanish mainland.⁴² In Bordeaux a particular formulation was used to refer to death and age at death. The word used for 'died' is *defunctus*, preceded by the age of the individual. Thus, someone who 'died at thirty' there was recorded as *annis XXX defuncti*. This expression is used not only by natives of the city and its surroundings, but also by individuals from other regions of Gaul, or even from Syria, Rome, or Greece who died in Bordeaux.⁴³ In this case, resident foreigners conformed in their wording of their epitaph to the customs of the city, probably because that was the standard sort of wording offered by the local workshops.

Occasionally the particular wording or the sequence of details in an epitaph suggests that the deceased (or the commemorator) may have drawn on epigraphic customs of his place of origin, rather than on those of the place of death. Epitaphs in Rome and Gaul in the first century AD, but particularly in Spain in the second century AD, can conclude with the expression *sit tibi terra levis*, 'may the earth lie lightly on you', abbreviated *S T T L* (see Appendix, Nos. 1, 24).⁴⁴ In Spain, the formula can be repeated over and over again after the name of each and every person, even if several individuals are named in the inscription.⁴⁵ Usually this wish appears at the end of the text, although in Emerita Augusta in the province of Lusitania, *S T T L* is frequently found in

⁴² *CIL* II. 3506, 3507, 3512, 3674, 3677, 3680.

⁴³ *CIL* XIII. 633/Krier 1981: no. 3/Wierschowski 2001: no. 391; *CIL* XIII. 879/Wierschowski 2001: no. 398; *CIL* XIII. 807/Wierschowski 2001: no. 397; *CIL* XIII. 635/Wierschowski 2001: 393; *CIL* XIII. 632/Wierschowski 2001: no. 390; *CIL* XIII. 620/Wierschowski 2001: no. 378; *CIL* XIII. 611/Wierschowski 2001: no. 372; *CIL* XIII. 593/Wierschowski 2001: no. 367.

⁴⁴ *CIL* II²/5. 1326; *CIL* II. 5779/Knapp 1992: no. 234; *CIL* II. 5781/Knapp 1992: no. 236; *CIL* VI. 4999/ILS 7995; *CIL* VI. 20487/ILS 8133; *CIL* XIII. 2073/ILS 8141; *CIL* XIV. 1873/ILS 8134. On the use of this expression, see Lattimore 1942: 65–74.

⁴⁵ *CIL* II²/5. 325; *CIL* II²/5. 454/5; *CIL* II²/5. 1232 = *CIL* II. 1503.

the middle of the epitaph, after the name of the deceased and before the name of the commemorator.⁴⁶ Frequently in epitaphs from the province of Baetica, in places such as Sevilla, Astigi, and Córdoba, the deceased is referred to as *pius in suis* or *pia in suis* (he/she looked after his/her own; he/she was dutiful to his/her own), followed usually by *hic situs/sita est, sit tibi terra levis*, but it is very rare elsewhere in Spain and virtually non-existent outside Spain.⁴⁷ The complete abbreviation is *P I S H S E S T T L*. When this phrase appears in an epitaph in the Rhineland, then, it stands out immediately as unique. It is used on a *stele* in Bonn commemorating the slave Euthenia who died there in the second half of the first century AD.⁴⁸ Her place of origin, typically for slaves, is not given, but the entire construction of the invocation *PIA IN SUIS / H S E S T T L* is so typical for Baetica that it can be taken as an indication that either she or her commemorator and co-slave Gemellus came from this region, employing a formula that was foreign to Bonn. The abbreviations for *hic situs est* (*H S E*) and for *sit tibi terra levis* (*S T T L*) were widely known in the Rhineland, so it was not necessary to write these sections out in full; however, '*pia in suis*' had to be written out because the abbreviation *P I S* would not have been understood by any of the locals in Bonn.

Other expressions in funerary texts stand out as foreign in the Rhineland. Although the specification of plot size is common in Italy and southern Gaul, the one and only gravestone from Cologne with these details records a plot twenty-two feet *in fronte* by twenty-two feet *in agro*.⁴⁹ It is significant that at least one of the owners of this tomb, a Marcus Petronius Flosclus, was an Italian who would have known this tradition of recording the dimensions of the burial plot. Likewise the prohibition formula *HMHNS* (*hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur*), referring to the owner's wish that the tomb not be passed on to the heirs, occurs regularly in places such as Rome, Ostia, and Portus, but also, under Italian influence, in southern Gaul. The prohibition formula, however, is recorded only once in both Cologne and Mainz on the German frontier, and in both cases it is included in the epitaph of someone from Italy.⁵⁰

The freedman Marcus Umbricius Hilarus, an Italian from Aeclanum near Beneventum in southern Italy, died and was buried in Narbonne in the first century AD. His epitaph closes with a greeting to and short exchange with the

⁴⁶ *CIL* II. 530, 537, 542, 551, 569.

⁴⁷ *CIL* II. 1206; *CIL* II. 2720/Knapp 1992: no. 299; *CIL* II²/5. 1219 = *CIL* II. 1498; *CIL* II²/5. 1222 = *CIL* II. 1499; *CIL* II²/7. 423; *CIL* II²/7. 426 = *CIL* II. 2262.

⁴⁸ *CSIR* III, 2. 8.

⁴⁹ *CIL* XIII. 8337/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 306. Only one is known from Bonn: *CIL* XIII. 8108/*CSIR* III, 2. 7.

⁵⁰ *CIL* XIII. 8337/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 216; *SH* 90/Selzer 1988: 130.

stranger *vale et tu* (farewell and [farewell] to you too). This particular direct address to the reader was often used in Italy, suggesting that Hilarus (or his family) chose a familiar Italian sentiment.⁵¹ Maltrebius Celer commissioned an epitaph in the first century AD in Carpentras in southern Gaul to commemorate another man, Sextus Sentius Primus, whose voting district was Sabatina in central Italy.⁵² In this epitaph grave gardens are mentioned, but the word chosen is not the more common *hortus*, but *viridarium*, a term often used in Italy but rarely anywhere else.⁵³ Since an Italian voting district is named and the garden is called a *viridarium*, it is very likely that not only the dead man but also the commemorator was of Italian origin. Occasionally, the rather fatalistic invocation *non fui, fui, non sum, non curo* (I was not, I was, I am not, I don't care), occurs in epitaphs from Rome and northern Italy (see below). It rarely appears elsewhere, and it is therefore noticeable when it does. A variation on this expression was used by Donnia Calliste and Gaius Munatius to commemorate their freedwoman Donnia Italia in Lectoure in Aquitania in the first century AD. The text begins with *non fui, fui, memini, non sum, non curo* (I was not, I was, I remember, I am not, I don't care). Wierschowski suggests that, since the names Donnia and Munatius were common ones in northern Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, the dead woman and her patrons might well have originated in northern Italy.⁵⁴

Occasionally foreigners in Italy can be recognized by the epigraphic formula of their funerary inscriptions. Noy has demonstrated that foreigners from the Greek-speaking East sometimes used formulae known to them in their homelands. Such texts were probably composed by the Greek-speaking customers themselves, partly because the desired text may not have been known in Rome, and partly because there were fewer workshops competent in Greek than in Latin.⁵⁵ A common African variation on the continental European theme *sit tibi terra levis* (may the earth lie lightly on you) is *terra tibi levis sit* (T T L S) and the related *ossa tibi bene quiescant* (O T B Q, may your bones rest well), leading Lattimore and others to infer that the few epitaphs with this formulation in and near Rome belonged to people of African origin or extraction.⁵⁶ The latter expression regularly appears in abbreviated form in North Africa, but the words are usually written in full on the epitaphs in and

⁵¹ *CIL* XII. 4526/*ILS* 8163/Wierschowski 2001: no. 286. For Italian examples, see *CIL* VI. 6548; *CIL* V. 8699/*ILS* 8125; *CIL* VI. 25092/*ILS* 8127a; *CIL* IX. 2105/*ILS* 8142; *CIL* IX. 4840/*ILS* 8166. It also crops up elsewhere in Narbonne: *CIL* XII. 4938/*ILS* 8147.

⁵² *CIL* XII. 1209/Wierschowski 2001: no. 152.

⁵³ *CIL* VI. 1820; *CIL* VI. 7787; *CIL* VI. 17073/*ILS* 7902a; *CIL* VI. 23808/*ILS* 8290; *CIL* XIV. 3733.

⁵⁴ *CIL* XIII. 530/Wierschowski 2001: no. 360.

⁵⁵ Noy 2000: 194–5.

⁵⁶ Lattimore 1942: 72–3: e.g. *CIL* VI. 1538, 8484, 22711, 28124.

around Rome. This suggests that there must have been the realization on the part of the commissioners of these epitaphs that a standard abbreviation such as this was understandable in North Africa, but not to Romans in Rome. Thus, however 'formulaic' and lacking in heartfelt sentiments funerary expressions may appear to us, their use by people who left the confines of their local community and who clung to the sentiments and attitudes towards death that were prevalent in their place of origin, suggests that these expressions had a deep and specific meaning that may escape the casual reader.

CAREERS AND HONOURS

An important part of the message of a funerary epitaph was the listing of honours, posts held, and career steps as clear markers of status in society, a society of many social and political relationships in which the deceased was embedded and to which belonging could be expressed. In this sense, funerary inscriptions are related to the honorary and laudatory texts that were put up on statue bases and buildings in public places, as we have seen exemplified by the inscriptions relating to Gaius Apronius Raptor in Lyon (see Chapter 2). The epitaphs of the nobility up to the end of the Republic were simple and generally gave only the brief highlights of a career. They correspond in many ways to the brief *elogia* on plaques that were attached to the *imagines* of aristocratic families in the atrium of the family home and in public spaces.⁵⁷ The *elogium* gave the name of the person whose portrait it was, followed by the offices held and other honours such as triumphs won by that person. Epitaphs from the first century AD, on the other hand, especially those for individuals below the senatorial order, often list careers in greater length. An informative inscription of the first half of the second century from Isola Sacra outlines the public career (*cursus honorum*) of Lucius Fabricius Caesennius Gallus. The epitaph reads: *Pal(atina tribu) / eq(uitis) Rom(ani) / pontif(icis) L(aurentium) L(avinatium) / scrib(ae) aedilic(io) / omnibus honor(ibus) in c(olonia) Ost(iensi) f(uncti)*.⁵⁸ This man, from the voting district of Palatina, was a Roman knight, a secretary of the aediles, and a priest of Laurens Lavinus, a religious office of the equestrian class associated with the cult of Vesta and the Penates as the ancient protectors of the community and state. The epitaph closes with the statement that Gallus had held all the posts of

⁵⁷ This theme is discussed by Sandys 1927: 93–104, and Flower 1996: 159–84.

⁵⁸ *CIL* XIV. 354/Thylander 1952: A50a. The priesthood of Laurens Lavinus is discussed by Saulnier 1984.

honour in the Ostian colony. Publius Vinesius Firmus from Aosta at the foot of the Italian Alps worked his way up the administrative ladder in his community in the second century, holding the canonical offices of *quaestor* (magistrate responsible for financial matters), *aedilis* (magistrate responsible for public works), and, finally, *duovir* (one of two senior elected magistrates) of the public games.⁵⁹ Lucius Firminius Maximus, an Italian who died in Valence in Gaul, had held the same sequence of offices, a career that is highlighted in his epitaph in the first century AD.⁶⁰ His brother, Firminius Faustinus, who saw to the carving of this inscription, held the same offices, and in his desire to put himself in the limelight added, at the very end of the inscription, almost as an after-thought, that the monument was made to commemorate his brother Maximus. But also the advancement within a generation or two from slavery to freedom and the achievements of a public career are a source of special pride. The funerary inscription commemorating Quintus Petillius Saturninus from Aosta, freeborn grandson of ex-slaves and son of possible ex-slaves, records that he served in *Legio XXII Primigenia*, and then became a priest of the imperial cult, an *aedilis*, and a *duovir* in the second century AD.⁶¹

None of these men had such a noble lineage or a brilliant career as the aristocratic Lucius Munatius Plancus who died around 20 BC and was buried near the family's estate in Gaeta on the western coast of southern Italy. Plancus' epitaph is bursting with noble names, prestigious titles, and achievements.⁶² It tells us that he was the son (*filius*) of Lucius, grandson (*nepos*) of Lucius, and great-grandson (*pronepos*) of Lucius, that he had been consul and censor, was twice hailed successful general, that he had held a religious post and celebrated a triumph over the Raeti, that he had a temple to Saturn built from the spoils, that he distributed land to colonists in Italy, and that he had established the colonies of Lyon and Augst in Gaul. Plancus' epitaph stresses his ancestry, following his noble family history back three generations before him. The funerary epitaph thus recounts an illustrious lineage, as did the family trees kept in the home and also the ancestor masks paraded at funerals. A meticulously outlined noble ancestry was a popular device used on public monuments by the emperors from Augustus onwards. Caligula, for example, is recorded in an inscription in Córdoba as the son (*filius*) of Germanicus, grandson (*nepos*) of Tiberius, great-grandson (*pronepos*) of Augustus, and

⁵⁹ *CIL* V. 6842/Cavallaro and Walser 1988: 56–7/Cavallaro 1988: 144, fig. 6.

⁶⁰ *AE* 1976: 393/Wierschowski 2001: no. 31.

⁶¹ *CIL* V. 6896/Cavallaro and Walser 1988: 132–3/Cavallaro 1988: 142–4, fig. 4. See Gordon 1931 on the mobility of freedmen's children.

⁶² *CIL* X. 6087. On the tomb itself, see Fellmann 1957; Eisner 1986: 213–15; Von Hesberg 1992: 29, 97, fig. 50; Schwarz 2002: 158–60, pls. 2, 33.1.2.

great-great-grandson (*abnepos*) of the divine Julius.⁶³ The adopted emperors of the second century AD felt an even greater need for legitimacy, and in public monuments they often constructed their lineage and proclaimed their right to rule as dynastic heirs of their divine imperial predecessors. Lucius Aurelius Verus in AD 164, for example, is said to be the son of Antoninus Pius, grandson of Hadrian, great-grandson of Trajan, and great-great-grandson of Nerva.⁶⁴ It appears to have been of little consequence that none of these men was related by blood. Far more important was legitimacy, achieved, if necessary, by a constructed ancestry.

Unlike freeborn men, freedmen could not normally hold public offices, but from the time of Augustus they were allowed to hold posts as members of chapters of priests to superintend the official cult of the emperor (*seviri Augustales*). Holders of this office were very often recruited from wealthy freedmen, their wealth being an important prerequisite for a post that required substantial financial input (see Chapter 9). This post is frequently displayed in the funerary inscriptions of freedmen (see Appendix, Nos. 5, 21). In some cases, such freedmen could serve as a *sevir Augustalis* in more than one location. Quintus Capitonius Probatas, who came from Rome, but was buried in Lyon in the second century, did so in both Lyon and Puteoli.⁶⁵ Marcus Silenius Symphorus held this post in the second century in three cities in Gaul: Lyon, Arles, and Riez.⁶⁶ It appears, however, that not only freedmen could serve as priests of the imperial cult. Drinkwater has argued that in the Three Gauls these high-status posts could be held by the rich freeborn, if there were not sufficient freedmen available or if individuals did not pursue a full local magisterial career.⁶⁷ The *sevir Augustalis*, Quintus Secundius Quigo, a Treveran citizen who was commemorated in Autun in the first half of the second century, enjoyed a municipal career among the Aedui, holding all the offices among them (*omnibus honoribus inter eos functi*).⁶⁸ Krier has argued convincingly that Quigo was a freeborn citizen, possibly a wealthy merchant, from Trier who, in his new place of residence in Autun, was given full citizen rights by the council of Autun and who then held various offices there.⁶⁹

The posthumous honours bestowed on an individual by the community are a special source of pride, and they figure prominently in funerary epitaphs.

⁶³ *CIL* II. 4716/*ILS* 193.

⁶⁴ *CIL* XII. 4344. On 'faked' ancestries and divine imagery, see Wiseman 1974; Davies 2000: 75–101.

⁶⁵ *CIL* XIII. 1942/Wierschowski 2001: no. 449.

⁶⁶ *ILTG* 241/Wierschowski 2001: no. 640.

⁶⁷ Drinkwater 1983: 198.

⁶⁸ *CIL* XIII. 2669/Wierschowski 2001: no. 520. On this man and his career, see Woolf 1998: 80–1.

⁶⁹ Krier 1981: 20.

The inscription put up in the forum baths in Avenches honouring Gaius Valerius Camillus in the early first century AD mentions a public funeral (*funus publicum*) and statues of him paid by the two cities of Autun in France and Avenches in Switzerland.⁷⁰ Another honorific inscription in Ostia records the public funeral of a Publius Lucilius Gamala and the erection of a gilded statue of him in the first century BC, courtesy of the town council.⁷¹ Sometimes, as we have seen in Chapter 4, the burial plot was donated by order of the town council (*ex decurionum decreto*) and a contribution was made towards the funeral, as is the case with Septumia, who was buried outside the Porta Vesuvio in Pompeii with HS 2,000 of public money (Fig. 48).⁷² The same sum was given by the town council in the 70s AD for a burial plot outside the same gate and for the funeral of the 22-year old aedile Gaius Vestorius Priscus; his mother paid for the tomb.⁷³ The city of Pompeii gave a plot of land outside the Herculaneum gate for burial and HS 2,000 towards the expense of erecting a memorial to Titus Terentius Felix, and the local Pompeian magistrate Aulus Umbricius Scaurus was granted not only a place of burial and a monument,



Figure 48. Four excavated tombs outside the Porta Vesuvio on the north side of Pompeii, belonging to Gaius Vestorius Priscus, Marcus Veius Marcellus, Arellia Tertulla, and Septumia. All were given their burial plots and other honours by the city council

⁷⁰ *CIL* XIII. 5110/Wesch-Klein 1993: 199–200/ Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 5/ Wierschowski 2001: no. 555. For a man from the Sunuci tribe who was honoured by the Aedui in Lyon, see *AE* 1982: 706/Wierschowski 2001: no. 43.

⁷¹ *CIL* XIV. 375/*ILS* 6147/Thylander 1952: B335. On his benefaction, see D'Arms 2000. Wesch-Klein 1993: 128–30, discusses his public funeral.

⁷² Spano 1910: 406–9, fig. 14; Wesch-Klein 1993: 146–7.

⁷³ Spano 1910: 402; *AE* 1911: 72; Mols and Moormann 1993/4.

but also HS 2,000 towards the funeral as well as an equestrian statue in his honour in the forum.⁷⁴ We do not know precisely what acts of benefaction the *aedilis* and *duovir* Marcus Obellius Firmus performed to prompt the grant of HS 5,000 from the city of Pompeii for his public funeral, as well as a burial plot outside the Porta Nola, 30 pounds of incense, HS 1,000 for perfumes, and two portrait busts in shields (*imagines clipeatae*) from the presidents (*magistri*) and attendants (*ministri*) of the country district.⁷⁵

Thanks to a large, if fragmentary, inscription panel, we are better informed about the benefaction of a Decimus Lucretius Valens who had been co-opted to the town council of Pompeii at the age of 8 and promoted to equestrian rank by the emperor Claudius.⁷⁶ His age at death has not survived, but he may have been in his early twenties. The inscription says that he (and his father) had sponsored gladiatorial games and a regular hunt. For this the city gave him a funeral, a burial plot on public land immediately outside the city, and various other honours such as an equestrian statue in the forum. Further honours included at least two statues of him on foot from the *Augustales* and inhabitants of the country district, and images of him in shields from the associations of the cushion-sellers and clapper-beaters at the theatre (*nates et scabiliarii*) and the association of the inhabitants of the forum (*forenses*). There is no mention of a sum of money. What makes this posthumous array of honours particularly interesting is that the inscription listing them comes from a tomb not just outside the gates of Pompeii, where one might expect it, but from the family tomb near the family's estate in the modern district of Scafati a couple of miles to the south-east of Pompeii. This might support Frischer's suggestion that publicly honoured individuals could receive a donation of a burial plot on public land immediately outside the town on which a monument was built, but which did not necessarily function as a tomb because the individuals actually were buried on their family estates.⁷⁷ Such monuments outside the town gates, according to Frischer, will have acted as advertisements of a family's past glories and future promise. But this was not always so, and it seems, upon closer inspection, not to have been the case particularly with the Lucretii Valentes. In the family tomb at Scafati are

⁷⁴ *CIL* X. 1019: See Mau 1899: 405; Kockel 1983: 115–16; Wesch-Klein 1993: 66, 144. *CIL* X. 1024/*ILS* 6366: See Mau 1899: 411; Kockel 1983: 70–4; Curtis 1988: 19–50; Wesch-Klein 1993: 66, 144. For Spanish examples, see *CIL* II²/5. 305, 930, 1006, 1030. On sepulchral and burial costs, see Duncan-Jones 1974: 166–71.

⁷⁵ De Franciscis 1976; De Caro 1979: 61–72. On the country districts, see Cooley and Cooley 2004: 131–2.

⁷⁶ *AE* 1994: 395–8. De' Spagnolis Conticello 1993/4 reports on the excavation and the finds. Her interpretation of the lineage and relationships of the family is less convincing than that offered by Cooley and Cooley 2004: 144–6.

⁷⁷ Frischer 1982–3.

columelle commemorating the father, Decimus Lucretius Valens, aedile in AD 33/4 (according to other sources), two of his sons who died young (aged 2 and 13), and an adopted son (Decimus Lucretius Satrius Valens). There is no *columella* at Scafati marking the burial site of his so richly honoured third son (Decimus Lucretius Valens), probably because he really *was* buried somewhere just outside the walls of Pompeii in a tomb that was provided with an inscription outlining his career and distinctions. The inscription on the family enclosure at Scafati, in that case, would be a 'copy' or version of the official one at Pompeii. The status of the family required advertising even there in the countryside.

Honours also could be bestowed on freedmen or others who did not qualify for public administrative posts, but who were willing to pay for titles by donating money to the public treasury.⁷⁸ Honours could even be bestowed upon children, if they had an important father who had contributed much to the community. The highly honoured son of Decimus Lucretius Valens discussed above had been admitted to the town council already at the age of 8, and in the family burial grounds at Scafati a *columella* commemorates another of his sons who had also been nominated to the town council before he died at the age of 13.⁷⁹ Funerary honours were also granted to children. The one-and-a-half-year-old boy Marcus Sittius Fronto Saufei Proculus, stepson of a rich equestrian from Sorrento, for example, was given a burial plot and a contribution of 5,000 sesterii towards his burial and funeral costs.⁸⁰ Two young Spanish boys from the Baetican towns of Urso and Astigi who died in Córdoba were given a public funeral there. In addition, their burial plots, the stones for a funerary monument, and a statue were also paid for, possibly by their home communities.⁸¹

Measures such as these correspond to Cicero's proposal before the Senate in Rome in 43 BC that Servius Sulpicius Rufus should be publicly honoured.⁸² These honours included a tomb thirty feet square on the Esquiline hill, as well as a funeral to be 'conducted with all ceremony', and a bronze statue of Rufus in the forum, and all of this at public expense. These honorific statues of important men and women were omnipresent in the communities, and they

⁷⁸ Kleijwegt 1992: 131–5.

⁷⁹ De' Spagnolis Conticello 1993/4; Cooley and Cooley 2004: 144–6. The freedman Popidius Ampliatus paid for the restoration of the temple of Isis after the earthquake of AD 62, in return for which his 6-year-old son was nominated to the town council: *CIL* X. 846/*ILS* 6367. Marcus Alleius Libella, buried outside the Herculaneum Gate at Pompeii, was already a town councillor at the age of 17: *CIL* X. 1036/*ILS* 6365. Laes 2004, however, has demonstrated that no higher office than a town councillor was granted to under-age persons.

⁸⁰ *CIL* X. 680/Wesch-Klein 1993: 140–1.

⁸¹ *CIL* II². 7/306–7/Wesch-Klein 1993: 186, 190–1.

⁸² *Philippics* 9. 7. 16–17.

stood in places determined or given by the town council. A funerary epitaph found on the Via Labicana in Rome commemorates a Quintus Fabius Theogonus, a paint merchant whose shop was on the Esquiline 'near the statue of Plancus'.⁸³ This is almost certainly the same Lucius Munatius Plancus, the military commander in chief, public benefactor, and founder of two colonies, mentioned above. But Cicero was also thinking not only of such leading men when he, in the wake of Civil War in 43 BC, proposed that the soldiers who died at Mutina in defeating Mark Antony should be publicly honoured with a communal tomb bearing an inscription as an 'immortal monument' to their bravery.⁸⁴ Although this monument was never erected, Cassius Dio records that the battle dead were honoured with a public funeral.⁸⁵

EXPRESSING STATUS, WEALTH, AND ASPIRATIONS

Messages about status, wealth, and identity could be communicated not only through the words of the epitaph, but also through the pictorial motifs carved on the funerary monuments. Marcus Caelius, for example, is portrayed as a highly decorated legionary centurion wearing numerous medallions (*phaleræ*) on his chest and other objects such as neck rings (*torques*) that were given as rewards to soldiers (*dona militaria*) and that were kept by the men long after retirement from the army (Fig. 49).⁸⁶ The inscription tells us that he was a centurion, but in other cases it is the pictorial depiction of the deceased alone that indicates what rank he once held. The gravestone of Quintus Luccius Faustus in Mainz depicts the deceased in full uniform, holding an

⁸³ CIL VI. 9673/ILS 7605.

⁸⁴ *Philippics* 14. 12. 33. The consul Aulus Hirtius who was killed in this war was given a state funeral and burial in the Campus Martius in Rome. Parts of the tomb survive underneath the 15th-cent. Palazzo della Cancelleria: Nash 1962: 341–3, figs. 1112–16; Von Hesberg 1992: 64–5, fig. 21; *LTUR* 4, 1999: 290 (Coarelli).

⁸⁵ *Roman History* 46. 38.

⁸⁶ CIL XIII. 8648/ILS 2244. See *Kaiser Augustus*, p. 566, cat. no. 392, for an illustration and discussion. A gilt bronze neck ring and part of a parade helmet were found at Treuchtlingen in Bavaria on a Roman farm that must have been the home of an army veteran who kept his awards after retirement: Czysz *et al.* 1995: 524–5, fig. 228. Likewise an auxiliary veteran, probably a Treveran, was buried near Hellingen in Luxembourg with the parade helmet with which he had been rewarded during his active service: Reinert 2000: 44, fig. 33, and cat. no. 39b, fig. p. 332. A more complete set of equipment and *dona militaria*, including a parade helmet, a gilt neck ring, a studded belt, and mail armour were buried with an auxiliary soldier around AD 40 in Chassenard in France: Périn 2004: 82, fig. p. 83. Two bronze *armillae* (arm rings) were found in a grave (of a soldier?) near Cremona: Pontiroli 1971: 149, fig. 1.



Figure 49. Memorial of Marcus Caelius, centurion of *Legio XVIII*, who died in the 'Varian war' in Germany in AD 9. His body was not recovered, but he was commemorated with this stone in Xanten. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn

over-large legionary standard in his right hand.⁸⁷ The inscription does not give his rank, so without the portrayal of Faustus with this attribute we would not know that he was a *signifer* (standard-bearer) in the army. Military equipment and honours could be carved on gravestones without portraits to visually complement the information in the inscription. This is the case with the elaborate gravestone of Marcus Pompeius Asper in Rome, who, as the inscription says, was a centurion in *Legio XV Apollinaris*, a centurion of the Praetorian guard, *primus pilus* of *Legio III Cyrenaica*, and camp prefect of *Legio XX Victrix*.⁸⁸ The epitaph itself is flanked by two standards of the Praetorian guard, and the legionary eagle in the centre is flanked by depictions of *phalerae*, *torques*, arm rings, and greaves on the left, and a cage containing chickens on the right. The latter appears to relate to the dedicator of the inscription, one Atimetus, who was a freedman and also the keeper of the sacred chickens (*pullarius*). Much lower on the social scale, images of victory are

⁸⁷ CIL XIII. 6898/Selzer 1988: 38/CSIR II, 5. 7. On the military tombstones from Mainz, see Hope 2000.

⁸⁸ CIL XIV. 2523/ILS 2662. Junkelmann 1986: pl. 29b, illustrates the monument.

depicted on the gravestone of the gladiator Gratus in Vienne. Seven crowns and two crossed palm fronds highlight his victories, and his escapes from death, in the amphitheatre, although the epitaph text says that he was victorious seventeen times.⁸⁹

Wealth is expressed in the elaborate dining scenes, with many slaves and servants, on the early third-century pillar monument of the Secundinii family from Igel and on many other funerary banquet reliefs from the first to third centuries AD on the Rhine and Moselle.⁹⁰ A woman who could afford a multitude of slaves catering to her every whim is depicted on a grave relief from Neumagen, the so-called 'Elternpaarpfeiler' dating to about 225.⁹¹ This lady is shown seated in a wicker chair attended by four servants who dress her hair, hold a mirror, and bring refreshments. Many women from Pannonia, Noricum, and Germania Inferior chose to have themselves depicted on their funerary monuments in the native costume peculiar to their region, and they are resplendent in layered garments, headdresses and conspicuous jewellery which reveal their wealth and ethnic affiliation (Fig. 50).⁹²

Occupations are expressed by the depiction of typical instruments of the trade of the deceased or by scenes of the deceased engaged in professional activities. Marcus Murranius Verus, a Treveran based in Lyon and a merchant in wine and pottery vessels, was given a gravestone with a row of wine jugs carved in relief above the epitaph.⁹³ Gaius Vescius Primus, a freedman and butcher from Mainz, is commemorated on his stone with an epitaph stating his profession (*lanius*) and with a carved depiction of a bull's head and butcher's tools.⁹⁴ The profession of the two brothers Pompeianus Silvinus and Pompeianus Victor from Augsburg is not stated in the epitaph, but the depictions on two sides of the funerary monument of tavern scenes indicate that they probably were wine merchants.⁹⁵ The epitaph of Gaius Vettius Novellus in Milan that appears below his portrait and those of his mother, a freedman, and two freedwomen, does not tell us what the family business was, but a small relief scene at the bottom of the *stele* depicting the display and sale of textiles suggests that the Vettii were textile manufacturers or cloak merchants in the first century AD.⁹⁶ Nor is the profession of the couple from

⁸⁹ *CIL* XII. 1915.

⁹⁰ Dragendorff and Krüger 1924; Drinkwater 1982. See Noelke 2000, and Carroll 2005, on dining scenes.

⁹¹ Baltzer 1983: no. 20, fig. 100; Kampen 1981: fig. 50; Freigang 1997*b*: 326–7.

⁹² Garbsch 1965; Böhme 1985; Wild 1985; Fácásdy 1997; Carroll 2001: 119. Freigang 1997*a* discusses costumes depicted on funerary monuments in Gallia Belgica.

⁹³ *CIL* XIII. 2033/Krier 1981: 17.

⁹⁴ Selzer 1988: 114.

⁹⁵ *CSIR* I, 1. 210/Czysz *et al.* 1995: 261, fig. 57; Wamser 2000: kat. no. 94, fig. p. 361.

⁹⁶ *CIL* V. 6123/Pflug 1986: no. 300, pl. 47.3.

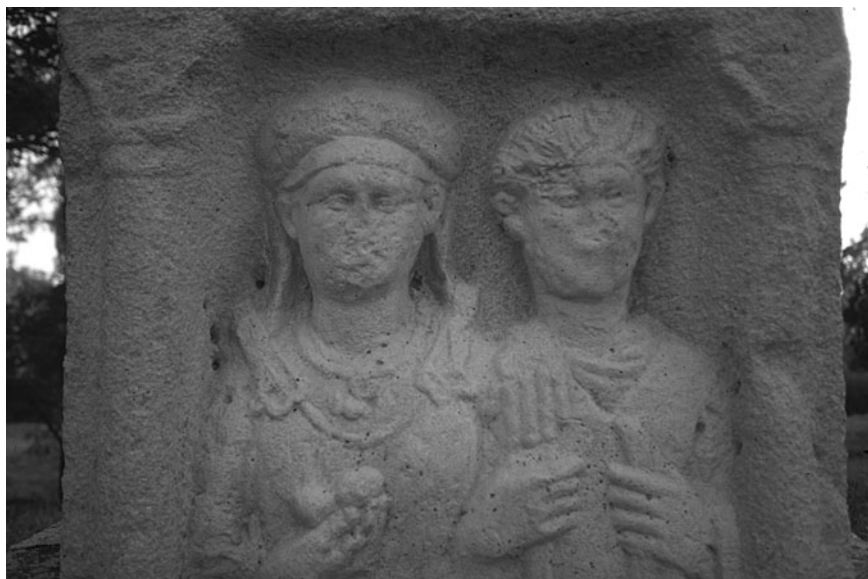


Figure 50. Grave *stèle* in Gorsium depicting a woman dressed in native Celtic costume, 2nd century AD

Portus, Marcus Ulpius Amerimnus and Scribonia Attice, recorded in the epitaph on their tomb in the Isola Sacra cemetery (Tomb 100), but terracotta reliefs in the masonry showing scenes of professional activities suggest that he was a doctor and she was a midwife.⁹⁷ It is worth mentioning here that the pride people took in depicting their professions and the offices they held is also reflected in the objects that could be buried with them. Thus we find a selection of terracotta paint pots (with the pigments still in them) buried with mural painters (*pictores*) in the second and third centuries AD in Frankfurt-Heddernheim on the Main and in Xanten on the lower Rhine in Germany, and complete sets of surgical instruments buried with doctors in the German Rhineland (Bingen, Cologne) and in Bavaria (Wehringen).⁹⁸ The professional

⁹⁷ Calza 1940: 248–51, figs. 148–9; Thylander 1952: A222; Kampen 1981: 69–70, figs. 58–9; Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 42–4; Descœudres 2001: cat. no. VIII.13–14. On other terracotta reliefs at Isola Sacra, see also Tomb 29: Calza 1940: 251–3, figs. 150–1; Descœudres 2001: cat. no. VIII.8–9; Tomb 78: Calza 1940: 254, figs. 153–4; Descœudres 2001: cat. no. VI.4. S. Iulius Aquila in Langres wanted to have his hunting equipment burnt on the funeral pyre so that he could take it with him in the afterlife: *CIL* XIII. 5708/*ILS* 8379; Hatt 1951: 66–9; Lavagne 1987: 162–3.

⁹⁸ Bachmann and Czysz 1977; Baatz and Herrmann 1989: 292–3, fig. 229 (Frankfurt-Heddernheim); Ehse 1995: 242–3, fig. p. 242 (Xanten); Baatz and Herrmann 1989: 126, fig. 55 (Bingen); Naumann-Steckner 1997: 76–7, kat. no. 7, fig. 51 (Cologne); Czysz *et al.* 1995: 533–4, fig. 237; Nuber 2000: 168–70, fig. 141 (Wehringen).

activities people engaged in during their lifetime clearly were thought to define an essential part of the character and identity of those individuals, and the deposition in the grave of objects related to professions suggests the belief that the tools of one's trade or the awards for service to the state would be needed in the afterlife (see Chapter 3).

The late Republican and early Imperial funerary reliefs of men and women of freed status express the legal standing of the deceased through the use of two main motifs. Slaves received Roman citizenship and could legally marry only when they had been freed, so the depictions, first, of freedmen in the toga, which only Roman citizens could wear, and, secondly, of husbands and wives clasping hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) as valid marriage partners were visual confirmation of the newly acquired legal and social status of these individuals (Fig. 51).⁹⁹ This gesture probably also expressed affection and harmony between the couples. Freeborn boys wore the *bulla* or an amulet around their necks until the onset of adulthood at 16, so the portrayal of sons of freed couples as little boys with this piece of clearly displayed jewellery marked these children as freeborn citizens.¹⁰⁰

The epitaph could, and often did, compensate for inequalities in life. Take the epitaph of Aebutius Agatho in Glanum, for example.¹⁰¹ Due to his freedman status, he would not have been able to hold public office as a magistrate, but he certainly made up for it in other ways, all of which are advertised in the inscription. He was a *sevir Augustalis* in both Arles and Apt, a curator of a society in Arles, a curator of the shippers' guild in Apt, and he was a generous benefactor in Glanum. That he had slaves of his own whom he had freed is made clear in the naming of the dedicator, Aebutia Eutychia, who set up the monument to her patron. Finally, even his age probably can be seen as a distinction, because despite the injustice of having once been a slave and working his way to the top, he survived to be 70 years old. The stigma of servile status is clearly compensated in death by the chosen message. Thus, his once marginal position in society is overwhelmingly reversed and he is represented in the selective language of the epitaph as a successful and industrial citizen. The rise from poverty or from a very undistinguished background can be celebrated by men and women who achieved some modicum of success in life, for example, as priestesses, chariot racers, or

⁹⁹ See e.g. Frenz 1985: no. 37, pl. 17.3; no. 124, pl. 54.1; Vedder 2001: cat. no. 40, pl. 5. Zanker 1975: 285–8, discusses the gesture in detail, with many illustrated examples.

¹⁰⁰ The *bulla* is exhibited on the portrait relief of the ex-slaves Q. Servilius Hilarus and Sempronia Eune with their young freeborn son, P. Servilius Globulus (*CIL* VI. 26410): Sinn 1991: 29–30, figs. 14–16; Rawson 1997a: 211, fig. 9.1. See Zanker 1975: 289–94, for a discussion of children on monuments of freedmen, with illustrations.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* XII. 1005.

Hope has highlighted how the language of the funerary epitaphs of the gladiators of Nîmes in southern Gaul is couched in terms of military honours to give these men an air of respectability.¹⁰⁴ These inscriptions are reminiscent of those carved for army soldiers, in which the name, rank, age, unit affiliation, length of service, and origin is recorded. The gladiatorial inscriptions also give the name, and sometimes the age and place of origin, but military rank is replaced by the particular fighting speciality the gladiator had, and instead of the length of service the number of successful fights in the arena is recorded.¹⁰⁵ The *retiarius* Lucius Pompeius from Vienne, for example, was crowned eight times, lived to be 25, and was buried by his 'wife' Optata.¹⁰⁶ The *mirmillo* Marcus Ulpus Felix, a 45-year-old Tungrian from Gallia Belgica, is referred to in his epitaph in Rome as a 'veteran', a term normally used for retired soldiers.¹⁰⁷ These memorials emphasized the success of the gladiator, rather than dwelling on the peripheral position and lowly status of the individual in society. It would appear that in Nîmes, and certainly in Córdoba in southern Spain, where seventeen funerary *stelae* of gladiators are known, the gladiators were buried together in a communal cemetery, all with remarkably similar monuments.¹⁰⁸ Those in Nîmes were buried outside the city to the south of the amphitheatre; at Córdoba they were interred outside the west gate of the city. A communal burial area would have given the gladiators a sense of community, although it is not certain whether the gladiators or possibly a burial society of gladiators (*collegium funeraticium gladiatorum*) chose this location or whether it was forced on them as stigmatized outsiders by the authorities. In Die/Dea Augusta in southern Gaul, at least, land was set aside by the town council for the burials of the performers who fought with animals in the arena.¹⁰⁹

GRAVE HUMOUR ROMAN STYLE

Finally, with all the written and pictorial messages about personal lives, status, provision of burial, and beliefs, was humour ever used in Roman funerary epitaphs? Apart from plays on words, such as *non fui, fui, non sum, non curo*

¹⁰⁴ Hope 1998; Hope 2001: 51. On Italian gladiators, see Hope 2000a. Wierschowski (1995) in his study on mobility in Roman Gaul concluded that the gladiatorial games were one of the main attractions in Nîmes.

¹⁰⁵ *CIL* V. 7297/*ILS* 5113; *CIL* VI. 10189/*ILS* 5114; *CIL* V. 5933/*ILS* 5115; *CIL* V. 3468/*ILS* 5122; *CIL* V. 3466/*ILS* 5121.

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* XII. 3327/*ILS* 5120.

¹⁰⁷ *CIL* VI. 10177/*ILS* 5104.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* II²/7. 353–69; Edmondson 1999: 658–9, fig. 1; Vaquerizo 2001: 189–91.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* XII. 1590/*ILS* 5148.

(I was not, I was, I am not, I don't care), instances of it are rather rare.¹¹⁰ There is something amusing, however, about the wording of the epitaphs for the freedman Marcus Virgilius Eurysaces and his wife Atistia on their tomb of the second half of the first century BC next to the Porta Maggiore in Rome.¹¹¹ The tomb is unique, with the top half of the building having rows of cylindrical openings either imitating bread ovens or corn measures. His epitaph states that he was a baker who was contracted to supply bread for the state, and it ends with 'as is apparent'. This final remark is in obvious reference to the lengthy frieze running around the top of the tomb which depicts the process of making bread in very great detail. Atistia's epitaph, presumably written by her husband, states that the remains of her body 'are in this bread basket' (*quouis corporis reliquiae quod superant sunt in hoc panario*). Again, this is a reference to the profession of Eurysaces, but calling either the tomb or the urn in which Atistia's remains were laid to rest a 'bread basket' is rather eccentric.

Dry humour is evident in an epitaph commemorating Leburna, the elderly manager of a troupe of mime actors from Siscia, that, in obvious reference to his theatrical performances, reads: 'I've died many times, but never like this'.¹¹² Instructions to the grave-digger are written at the end of an epitaph of the freedwoman Claudia Agele on the Via Appia in Rome: *Fossor, parce. Hic iam cubat* (Grave-digger, go gently! She's resting here).¹¹³ The final lines of the epitaph of Publius Vinesius Firmus from Aosta 'speak' in the first person in an amusing vein: 'As long as I lived, I tried to get (earn) money, and I never stopped losing it. Death has intervened. Now I'm free of both.'¹¹⁴ The 52-year-old Tiberius Claudius Secundus in Rome made various things responsible for his demise: 'Baths, wine, and women bring life's decline. Yet what is life but baths, wine, and women?' (*balnea vina Venus*).¹¹⁵ Martial's sharp wit is exemplified in his epigram describing a wife who had buried seven husbands and who had their gravestones inscribed with 'Chloe did it' (*Chloe fecit*), obviously in reference to her having 'done in' her husbands, rather than having had the epitaphs made.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ *CIL* V. 2283; *CIL* V. 2893/*ILS* 8164; see also *CIL* V. 1939/*ILS* 8165; *CIL* VI. 4632/*ILS* 8161a; *CIL* XIII. 530/*ILS* 8163/Wierschowski 2001: no. 359.

¹¹¹ *CIL* I² 1203–6 = *CIL* VI. 1958/*ILS* 7460a and 7460d/Friggeri 2001: 63/Degrassi 1965: no. 306. On the tomb, see Nash 1962: 329–32, figs. 1096–1102; Ciano Rossetto 1973; Eisner 1986: 92–4, pl. 36.1–3; *LTUR* 4, 1999, 301–2, figs. 154–7 (Ciancio Rosetto). Davies 1977: 18, refers to this tomb as being on the 'lunatic fringe'.

¹¹² *CIL* III. 3980/*ILS* 5228.

¹¹³ *CIL* VI. 7543/*ILS* 8195a.

¹¹⁴ *CIL* V. 6842/Cavallaro and Walser 1988: 56–7. A man in *CIL* VI. 3011 also says he need no longer earn money.

¹¹⁵ *CIL* VI. 15258/*ILS* 8157. Baths, wine, and women are mentioned also in *CIL* XIV. 914.

¹¹⁶ *Epigrams* 9. 15.

A gravestone from Aesernia in southern Italy, and now in Paris, is surely one of the most charming and humorous comments on the daily lives of the deceased it commemorated.¹¹⁷ The stone was commissioned by Lucius Caldius Eroticus for himself and Fannia Voluptas while he was alive. The relief scene depicts a man in a hooded Gallic cloak with his mule, both of them facing a woman who is adding by gesturing with her hand.¹¹⁸ The inscription explains the scene:

Copo computemus! Habes vini I, pane a. I, pulmentar. a. II. Convenit. Puell. a. VIII. Et hoc convenit. Faenum mulo a. II. Iste mulus me ad factum dabit.

The epitaph records a conversation between a female inn-keeper and a traveller, and can be broken down as follows:

TRAVELLER: Inn-keeper, let's settle up!

INN-KEEPER: You have a sextarius of wine, and bread at one as. Food, two asses.

TRAVELLER: Agreed.

INN-KEEPER: A girl at eight asses.

TRAVELLER: That's agreed too.

INN-KEEPER: And hay for the mule at two asses.

TRAVELLER: This mule will be the end of me!

Obviously Eroticus and Voluptas were the owners of a hostelry. They must have been accustomed to settling up with customers reluctant to pay for what they had consumed, although, in this case, the traveller does not question the costs of the food, wine, and the comparatively expensive girl, but only those for the mule's keep.

¹¹⁷ CIL IX. 2689/ILS 7478.

¹¹⁸ On the gesture, see Rieche 1986; Freigang 1997: 322–3.

Causes of Death

To Fortunatus, son of Daphnus and Chryseis, freedman and freedwoman of Laco, who lived eight years, and drowned in the pool at the baths of Mars.

(Funerary inscription from Rome: *CIL* VI. 16740/*ILS* 8518)

SENTIMENTS ON DEATH

What caused many rich and famous Romans to die can be learnt by randomly trawling through Roman literary sources. Here is just one example. Verginius Rufus was considered by Pliny the Younger to be ‘one of our greatest and most distinguished citizens’.¹ He was rehearsing an address to the emperor Nerva when his manuscript fell out of his hands. As he bent to pick it up, he slipped on the polished floor, fell and broke his hip, and from this accident he never recovered.² Searching the historical sources to gain insight into the causes and circumstances of death of those who were not wealthy and distinguished, however, would be largely fruitless. Funerary inscriptions, because they were commissioned by all classes of society, apart from the very poor, are therefore of immeasurable value in revealing what many people died of and what sentiments were expressed at their demise, even if the inscriptions tend to highlight unusual deaths or circumstances that surviving relatives felt particularly worth telling.

A number of Roman funerary epitaphs either name the cause of death or they allude to one in a more general, and sometimes poetic, way. The latter category may refer to death as cruel and untimely and couch the demise of the commemorated individual in terms of having been a victim of fate. Similar sentiments are expressed in Roman literature. Plutarch wrote that ‘untimely death is an evil’, and Pliny the Elder concluded that life, as a gift of nature

¹ Pliny, *Letters* 2. 1. 1

² *Letters* 2. 1. 5. See also *Letters* 3. 7. 2 for the story of Silius Italicus who had an incurable tumour and therefore starved himself to death.

bestowed upon us, is uncertain, fragile, grudging, and brief.³ The third-century epitaph of the 19-year-old Sextus Iulius Felicissimus from Aix-en-Provence contains a verse drawing a comparison between human life and the fruit of trees: 'some fall when they are ripe, others are plucked while still green'.⁴ Eucharis, a freed slave of Licinia, died at age 14 in Rome, and her epitaph reads: 'in this tomb my enemies the Fates have placed my body's ashes'.⁵ Of Phoebe Vocontia's death in Rome, her epitaph simply says that 'fate suppressed her' at the age of 12.⁶ Furia Spes, a freedwoman in Rome, was 'separated by an evil hand' from her husband, Sempronius Firmus.⁷ Occasionally, the futility of resisting one's destiny is expressed. The epitaph of Thaemus Iulianus, a Syrian trader who died far from home in Lyon, laments that 'the inevitable hand of fate caused him to die in a foreign land'.⁸

Occasionally the sentiment is expressed that the gods envied a life, particularly a young life, and had therefore taken it. The death of Posilla Senenia is lamented by her mother who 'was not permitted to enjoy her only daughter, whose life, I believe, was envied by some god'.⁹ Hipponicus, the slave of Dignilla, a child only 330 days old and 'as beautiful as Apollo', was robbed of life in second-century Mainz 'by the jealous gods'.¹⁰ The 20-year-old freedman Servandus, was unable to enjoy his liberty fully because he was cheated by 'hostile death' in the first century AD.¹¹ Sometimes it is not fate or the gods or anything abstract that is blamed for a person's demise, but rather the medical profession. 'The doctors operated on him and killed him', reads the blunt text of an epitaph for a freedman of 27 years in Rome.¹²

In addition to these generalized expressions of bitterness and disappointment caused by death, epitaphs occasionally refer to illnesses that took the lives of loved ones. Omidia Basilissa died in Rome 'after many long illnesses', but the nature of these illnesses is not stated.¹³ We have no idea what Tertinia Amabilis died of, but, according to the epitaph commissioned by her husband, she took ill and died within three days in Lyon while he was away.¹⁴

³ Plutarch, *Moral Essays* 113D; Pliny, *Natural History* 7. 167. On bitter attitudes towards death and the loss of loved ones in Roman literature, see Simelon 2003.

⁴ *CIL* XII. 533/Rémy 1984: 117–21.

⁵ *CIL* I. 1009 = *CIL* I². 1214 = *CIL* VI. 10096.

⁶ *CIL* VI. 10127/Wierschowski 2001: no. 74.

⁷ *CIL* VI. 18817/ILS 8006. Bradley 1987: 69, suggests it means the two had been sold separately when they were still slaves.

⁸ *CIL* XIII. 2448/ILS 7529.

⁹ *CIL* I. 1306 = *CIL* I². 1837 = *CIL* IX. 4933.

¹⁰ *CIL* XIII. 6806/Selzer 1988: 133/*CSIR* II, 6. 30.

¹¹ *CIL* XIII. 7119/Selzer 1988: 104/*CSIR* II, 6. 36.

¹² *ILS* 9441.

¹³ *CIL* VI. 23457/ILS 8478.

¹⁴ *CIL* XIII. 1897.

But there are also epitaphs that explicitly record afflictions, accidents, and acts of violence as the cause of death. These fit into the following categories: death due to illness of various kinds; murder and/or suicide; accidental and/or work-related deaths; and death in battle. Some fascinating epitaphs relating to the latter subject reveal how the bodies of soldiers who died in military conflicts were returned home, but the inscriptions also tell us that the remains of civilians could be transported great distances to their final resting places. In the following, a variety of epitaphs that illustrate these topics are examined.

WOMEN'S SUFFERINGS

Some professions and spheres of activity remained the preserve of men, so it is not surprising to read of soldiers who died in wars or of firemen who perished whilst extinguishing a blaze. But what of women and the dangers to which they were most often exposed? One of the most frequent causes of death for women was childbirth or the consequences thereof. However this is very rarely referred to directly in the epitaphs, and only in very rare cases does the archaeological evidence point in this direction. These rare cases include the discovery of the skeleton of a woman aged 17–25 with her newborn child at her foot in a grave of the second century AD on Watling Street in London, and the skeleton of a woman aged 25 and a newborn placed together in a sarcophagus of the fourth century in Arles.¹⁵ One of the funerary epitaphs that attest to death in childbirth is that of a freedman's daughter who died in Rome at the age of 20 after having given birth to twins.¹⁶ 'The cause of my death was childbirth and malignant fate' says another epitaph commemorating the 25-year-old Rusticeia Matrona in Ain Kebira in Mauretania (North Africa).¹⁷ Veturia Grata was buried by her husband who chose to include the very detailed information in her epitaph that she died in Rome at the age of 21 being eight months pregnant with her fourth child.¹⁸ The three surviving children were still small. A woman in Salonae in Dalmatia was in labour for four whole days, but she and the unborn child died, as an inscription set up by her fellow slave tells us.¹⁹

¹⁵ Mackinder 2000: 19–20, 42–3, figs. 20, 32 (graves 22 and 23); Sintès 1996: cat. no. 156. See also Mackensen 1978: 147, 150, for women and tiny babies buried together (graves 153/154, 213/214) in Kempten. On death in childbirth see Gouvrévitch 1987: 187–93.

¹⁶ *CIL* I. 1215.

¹⁷ *CIL* VIII. 20288.

¹⁸ *CIL* VI. 28753.

¹⁹ *CIL* III. 2267.

Without specific details in the epitaph, we can only surmise that childbirth and resulting complications might have been the cause of death when women are portrayed with tiny infants. Bella of the Remi tribe in northern Gaul was commemorated by her husband in Cologne around AD 20, and although the cause of death is not stated, the portrayal of her as a Roman matron cradling a tiny baby in her arms may indicate that she died giving birth to a child or shortly thereafter as a result of post-natal complications (Fig. 3).²⁰ A rather crude, but nonetheless interesting, stele from Metz depicts a woman next to an infant in swaddling clothes, and the epitaph names them both: Carantodia and Sextus, her son.²¹ Perhaps she died giving birth to this child.

Being subordinate to their husbands, women could also be the victims of domestic violence, as an epitaph in Lyon reveals. After twenty-eight years of marriage, Iulia Maiana was killed by 'the hand of the cruellest husband' and was survived by her children and her brother in that city (see Appendix, No. 7).²² The finger of guilt is clearly pointed at the husband of Prima Florentia who was commemorated by her parents in Portus in the second century AD (Fig. 52).²³ They buried their dear daughter, who was only 16 and a half years old, after she 'was thrown into the Tiber by her husband Orfeus'. Whether or not Orfeus was punished remains a mystery, but the fact that he is 'named and shamed' on his wife's memorial suggests, at least, that his wife's family wanted his crime to be public knowledge.

MURDER AND SUICIDE

Murder occasionally is given as the cause of death in epitaphs. The stone of the 21-year-old Lucius Caesius Maximus from Ostippo in Baetica reveals that 'here he was murdered' (*hic interfectus est*).²⁴ A 10-year-old girl in Saloniae was killed for her jewellery (*causa ornamentorum*).²⁵ A 40-year-old man in Aquileia was murdered by brigands, and so was a 20-year-old man from Oteyza in north-east Spain (*a latronibus occisus*).²⁶ The mother of Gaius Severianus

²⁰ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 310/Wierschowski 2001: no. 660/Carroll 2001: 91, fig. 43.

²¹ *CIL* XIII. 4359/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 4366. A 20-year-old mother (Flavia Aiulo) and a baby in swaddling clothes are also represented on a grave stele in Aquincum in Hungary: Fácásdy 1997: 104, pl. 20.1.

²² *CIL* XIII. 2182/*ILS* 8512.

²³ Thylander 1952: A210.

²⁴ *CIL* II. 1444/*ILS* 8509.

²⁵ *CIL* III. 2399/*ILS* 8514.

²⁶ *ILS* 8507; *CIL* II. 2968. Other deaths due to brigands: *CIL* XIII. 2282/Wierschowski 2001: no. 507; *CIL* XIII. 3689/Wierschowski 2001: no. 545.



Figure 52. Marble epitaph panel commemorating Prima Florentia who was murdered by her husband Orfeus in Portus, 2nd century AD

made sure it was recorded on his gravestone in Apt in southern Gaul that her son had been killed by his own freedman.²⁷ A very curious violent death recorded on one stone is that of Iucundus, freedman of Marcus Terentius, who lived in Mainz on the Rhein and Main rivers in the first century AD. His stone ‘speaks’ to the viewer, and it is worth quoting the text in its entirety.²⁸

IUCUNDUS
 M(arci) TERENTI(i) L(ibertus)
 PECUARIUS
 PRAETERIENS QUICUM
 QUE LEGIS CONSISTE
 VIATOR ET VIDE QUAM IN
 DIGNE RAPTUS INANE
 QUERAR VIVERE NON
 POTUI PLURES XXX PER
 ANNOS NAM ERUPUIT SE
 RVOS MIHI VITAM ET IPSE
 PRAECIPITEM SESSE DEIE

²⁷ CIL XII. 1128.

²⁸ CIL XIII. 7070/ILS 8511/Selzer 1988: 116/CSIR II, 6. 52.

CIT IN AMNEM APSTULIT
 HUIC MOENUS QUOD
 DOMINO ERIPUIT
 PATRONUS DE SUO POSUIT

‘Iucundus, freedman of Marcus Terentius, livestock breeder. You who pass by, stop and read how I lament my ignoble end. I could not live longer than thirty years. A slave took my life and then he threw himself headlong into the river. The Main took from him what he took from his master. The patron (of Iucundus) had this stone erected at his own expense.’ Thus the stone expresses not only the sadness of a life lost by a violent crime, but it also alludes to the desperation felt on the part of the perpetrator which led him to commit suicide, knowing that, as a slave, he faced execution for having killed his master.²⁹ Whether the slave’s body was found is, of course, unknown, but as a suicide victim, he may not have been given a decent burial anyway. Roman funerary law took a dim view of suicide. The regulations of the burial club at Lanuvium specify that ‘if any member takes his own life for any reason whatever, his claim to burial shall not be considered’, and suicide appears to have been a cause of death for which one could be barred from some cemeteries.³⁰ Horatius Balbus at Sarsina in Italy bequeathed land to the town for burial ‘excepting those who have hanged themselves’.³¹ This does not appear to have hindered an obscure poet of the second century AD named Marcus Pomponius Bassus who, as his epitaph says, suffered ill health and who saw no way out but to take his own life, in Aeclanum in southern Italy.³² Later, the Christian Church viewed suicide as the most profound of sins, and the perpetrator was refused burial in consecrated ground.³³

ACCIDENTAL DEATH

Accidental deaths also are recorded, and they are particularly explicit when it involves the death of a child. It was bad enough to die young, but an early death combined with a violent death made including such details in the epitaph almost irresistible. The 13-year-old Publius Papirius Proclus from Saloniae in

²⁹ Pliny, *Letters* 3. 14. 5.

³⁰ *CIL* XIV. 2112/*ILS* 7212/Frigeri 2001: 175–6. The contracting undertaker at Puteoli was obliged to remove the bodies of suicides by hanging from public view within an hour of their being reported: Bodel 1994: 74. On the treatment of the bodies of those who committed suicide, see Desideri 1995.

³¹ *CIL* I. 1418/*ILS* 7846.

³² *CIL* IX. 1164.

³³ Horrox 1999: 98; Gittings 1999: 150.

Dalmatia was killed by a falling roof tile in Rome while on a visit there.³⁴ Primigenius, a 13-year-old slave, and his mistress were crushed by a crowd of people during an incident on the Capitoline hill in Rome.³⁵ A 12-year-old boy from Perugia, who died after having been bitten by a snake, was commemorated by his brother and fellow slave.³⁶ A boy in Interamna (modern Terni) and a girl in Rome, both only 9 years old, died in traffic accidents, one of them involving an ox-cart.³⁷ We might class the death of the 11-year-old Quintus Sulpicius Maximus from Rome as 'accidental', if dying as a result of studying too much can be seen in this way.³⁸ This precocious boy won a prize in a poetry competition during the reign of Domitian in AD 95. The epitaph is in Latin, but the boy's verses in Greek are carved on a scroll in his hand and on the free spaces on the tombstone. Also in Greek are two epigrams that tell us that Maximus thought only of the Muses 'day and night', and he himself, in one of the epigrams, tells us that 'illness and exhaustion destroyed me'.

Accidental deaths could also be work related. A 21-year-old man from Beneventum fell from a ladder while fixing a ceiling mosaic, and he was commemorated by his grieving father.³⁹ Apollonis, a professional boxer from Apamea in Syria, died in an athletic competition, and his epitaph (in Greek) says that 'in the ninth boxing match he met his fated end'.⁴⁰ Although death in the arena for a gladiator was not exactly an accident, death was certainly a possible result of the profession. Glaucus, a 23-year-old gladiator in Verona, fought seven times in the arena, but his eighth fight was his last one.⁴¹ A soldier serving in *Cohors VI Praetoria*, and possibly entrusted with fire-fighting duties, 'perished in putting out a fire' in Ostia; he was given a burial place and a public funeral by the community in gratitude for his heroism.⁴² Fires were a common occurrence in Roman towns, and they must have claimed many lives, some of which were commemorated in funerary inscriptions. In the third century Lucius Secundius Octavus, a Treveran citizen, rushed into a burning building in Lyon to rescue his

³⁴ *CIL* III. 2083.

³⁵ *CIL* VI. 29436/*ILS* 8524. Being crushed in a crowd at the age of 12 is recorded in *CIL* VI. 14578.

³⁶ *CIL* XI. 2056/*ILS* 8521.

³⁷ *CIL* XI. 4311; *CIL* VI. 22804.

³⁸ *CIL* VI. 33976/*ILS* 5177/Gordon 1983: 130–1; Rawson 1997*b*: 223, fig. 9.9; D'Ambra 1998: 43, fig. 22; *LTUR* 4, 1999, 300, fig. 153 (Caruso); Huskinson 2000: 104, fig. 4.1; Rawson 2003: 17–20, fig. 1.1.

³⁹ *CIL* IX. 6281/*ILS* 7671.

⁴⁰ *AE* 1947: 187.

⁴¹ *CIL* V. 3466/*ILS* 5121.

⁴² *AE* 1912: 250/*ILS* 9494.

belongings, only to perish in the flames (see Appendix, No. 9).⁴³ The text of a gravestone of the early first century AD from Narbonne refers to a blaze and to a loyal freedman who 'plucked the bodies from the devastating fire and laid them in the grave'.⁴⁴

The dangers of travelling by sea are apparent in two epitaphs from Dalmatia which name men and children who died in shipwrecks and were 'consumed by the sea' (*cuius membra consumsit maris*), or 'perished at sea' (*in mare perierunt*).⁴⁵ Marcus Gratius Coronarius from Ancona on the east coast of central Italy drowned at sea in a storm (*in mare ui tempestatis decessit*).⁴⁶ A mother and daughter were killed in a shipwreck off the Spanish coast in the second century AD; both were commemorated in Rome.⁴⁷ Eufroonia from Autun, who had just given birth to a child, undertook a journey during which she drowned in the third century AD.⁴⁸ In Britain, a man, whose name has not survived, was awaiting promotion to the rank of centurion when he 'perished in a shipwreck' (*qui naufragio perit*).⁴⁹ He was given an inscribed stone in Chester in north-west Britain, but apparently his body was never found. At the bottom of the stone, space was left to chisel in the *H* for *hic* in *HSE* (*hic situs est*: here he lies) but it was never completed, suggesting that he never lay 'here' and that his tomb was actually a cenotaph (Fig. 53). In Chapter 3 we have seen that only when a body was buried in the earth, or a piece of bone from a cremated body was interred, was the disposal of the corpse considered proper and in accordance with religious beliefs. So how would 'missing bodies' at sea be viewed? According to Cicero, men who died on board a ship and whose bodies were thrown into the sea, or men who actually died in the sea, were considered to be 'properly' buried because 'none of the bones lay above the earth'.⁵⁰

Death by drowning is also recorded in the epitaph of the 8-year-old Fortunatus from Rome, son of the freed slaves Daphnus and Chryseis. The boy fell into a swimming pool at the baths of Mars and died.⁵¹ Children, some as young as 3 years of age, who drowned in a pool or a well are commemorated in other Italian towns.⁵² Unlike those who perished at sea, these bodies would have been recovered and buried.

⁴³ *CIL* XIII. 2027/*ILS* 8520/Krier 1981: 14.

⁴⁴ *CIL* XII. 5276.

⁴⁵ *CIL* III. 1899/*ILS* 8516; *CIL* III. 3107/*ILS* 8517. See *CIL* XIII. 2315/Wierschowski 2001: no. 508, for the victim of a ship wrecked on its way to Rome.

⁴⁶ *CIL* IX. 5920.

⁴⁷ *CIL* VI. 20674.

⁴⁸ *CIL* XIII. 2718/Wierschowski 2001: no. 524.

⁴⁹ *RIB* 544/*ILS* 2441.

⁵⁰ Cicero, *Laws* 2. 22. 57.

⁵¹ *CIL* VI. 16740/*ILS* 8518.

⁵² *CIL* V. 2417; *CIL* IX. 6318.



Figure 53. Gravestone of a man who was lost at sea and commemorated with a cenotaph in Chester

CASUALTIES OF WAR

Although numerous Roman soldiers were killed in battle, death due to armed combat is not commonly inscribed on tombstones. On the one hand, this is because those who died on the battlefield generally were buried there without a commemorative monument.⁵³ On the other hand, there may have been many who died in a military conflict and who did receive a gravestone, but, as Reuter suggests, the cause of death was omitted in the inscription.⁵⁴ Appian tells of an edict in 90 BC that determined that soldiers were to be buried where they fell, and not shipped home for burial.⁵⁵ This suggests that, until that

⁵³ See Livy, *History of Rome* 23. 46. 5, 27.2.9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 5. 47. 1; Tacitus, *Annals* 1. 49. 2. On the army's provision for burial see Vegetius, *Military Matters* 2. 20.

⁵⁴ Reuter 2005. I am grateful to Marcus Reuter for allowing me to read his manuscript prior to publication.

⁵⁵ *Civil Wars* 1. 195.

time, at least some of the battle dead had been returned to their homes. We know of several emperors and members of the imperial family who died whilst on campaigns or state business and whose (sometimes cremated) bodies were returned to Rome for burial, and this may have been done for at least some soldiers as well, if their remains could be identified or retrieved, or if the family made provisions for this transfer.⁵⁶ That this was indeed done is suggested by a sarcophagus of the third century in *Ulcisia Castra* (modern Szentendre) in Hungary. It bears an inscription informing the reader that the deceased had died in an expedition against the Germans in *Lauriacum* (modern Lorch) in Austria, yet his body was buried by the family in Szentendre.⁵⁷

Although there are no statistics on the return to their families of the bodies of those who died whilst serving in the army, it is likely that the majority of soldiers who were killed in battle were buried at or near the battle site, and that those who died of other causes whilst garrisoning a fort were buried in the cemeteries outside those forts. In fact, most of our tombstones of soldiers have been found in just such cemeteries on the empire's frontiers (see Appendix, Nos. 6, 8). In some very rare cases, the state might see to the erection of a memorial near the battlefield. This was the case after the first Dacian war in AD 102/3 when an altar, inscribed with the names of a calculated 3,800 dead soldiers, was set up near a war trophy at Adamklissi in modern Romania.⁵⁸ Earlier than this in AD 15, Germanicus had led his troops to the site of the Varian disaster in the Teutoburg forest east of the Rhine in Germany where, seven years earlier, three legions had been obliterated. One of his goals during this campaign was to collect the remains of the dead and raise a mound over them.⁵⁹ Of special interest in this particular context is the gravestone of Marcus Caelius from Bologna who served as a centurion in the eighteenth legion, one of the three legions killed in this disaster in AD 9 (see Fig. 49).⁶⁰ His body was never recovered, although a

⁵⁶ Drusus was brought back to Rome from Germany for burial in 9 BC: Tacitus, *Annals* 3. 5. 1; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1. 3 and 1. 5; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55. 2. 1–4. On the cenotaph for Drusus in Mainz (so-called 'Eichelstein'), see Frenz 1985a. Septimius Severus was cremated in York and returned to Rome: *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Severus* 19. 1–4, 24. 1–2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 77. 15. 2–4. On the transport of the bodies and remains of these and other prominent Romans, see Cracco-Ruggini 1995.

⁵⁷ Maroti 2003: no. 54.

⁵⁸ *CIL* III. 14214; Wesch-Klein 1993: 56–7; Davies 2000: 64–6, fig. 52.

⁵⁹ Tacitus, *Annals* 1. 60. 3–62. 2; Suetonius, *Caligula* 3. 2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 57. 18. 1. On the excavated battle site near Kalkriese in Germany, see Schlüter 1999. Recently pits containing disarticulated human limbs and skulls with evidence of cuts and breaks have been found on the site, leading the excavators to interpret them as the scattered remains of the battle dead of AD 9 that were gathered up and buried by Germanicus in AD 15: Harnecker 2004: 77–82.

⁶⁰ *CIL* XIII. 8648/*ILS* 2244. See *Kaiser Augustus*, p. 566, cat. no. 392, for an illustration and discussion.

gravestone was set up for him by his brother, Publius Caelius, on the west bank of the lower Rhine at Xanten. In this epitaph, the information is given that, at 53, he was 'killed in the Varian war' (*bello Variano*) and that his 'bones may be interred here' on the site of the stone. Two of Caelius' freedmen, Privatus and Thiaminus, who presumably were not with him on the fateful expedition, are depicted as labelled portrait busts on the tombstone; apparently they also were to be buried under this monument when they died. In providing an inscribed stone for his brother, Publius Caelius ensured that the name and the memory of this centurion would be preserved, even if his mortal remains lay anonymously in the midst of those of many others in the communal war grave in the Teutoburg forest.

Other casualties of war include Marcus Claudius Fronto who fell as a very high-ranking magistrate and decorated war hero in the war against the Germans and the *lazyges* in AD 165 and was commemorated with an honorary statue and inscription in Trajan's forum in Rome.⁶¹ Iulius Festus, a Praetorian guardsman who was buried in Brixia, was killed *in bello barbarico*.⁶² Aurelius Satullinus of *Legio I Adiutrix* 'fell in a raid by the Dacian foe' (*incursu hostis Daciae decedit*) during Trajan's campaigns in the early second century.⁶³ Tadius Exuperatus died at 37 on a rather enigmatic 'German expedition' (*defunctus expeditione Germanica*) in the second century and was commemorated by his sister in Caerleon in Wales.⁶⁴ Since there is no mention in the epitaph of Exuperatus having belonged to the army, it is unknown whether this 'expedition' was a military one.

Nevertheless, 'expeditions' to various parts of the empire and beyond the empire generally do refer to battle with an enemy. The reference to a 'Dacian expedition' (*expeditio Daccisca*), during which Aurelius Vitalis of *Legio II Italica* was killed, is clearly indicative of this soldier's involvement in Trajan's war against the Dacians on the Danube.⁶⁵ The *expeditio Britannica*, upon which Hadrian embarked in AD 122 to quell conflicts in northern Britain, is recorded in the inscriptions of two honorific statues in Italy to men who participated in them.⁶⁶ A recently discovered gravestone from Vindolanda on Hadrian's Wall refers to a war, and the centurion commemorated in that

⁶¹ CIL VI. 1377/ILS 1098.

⁶² CIL V. 4371/ILS 2065. See CIL II²/14. 131 for a *bello Maurico* and CIL II²/5. 783 = CIL II. 2015/ILS 1354a for a *bello Maurorum*. See also CIL VI. 41271/ILS 1327/Friggeri 2001: 124, for an honorific inscription of a Praetorian guard mentioning *belli Germanici et Sarmatici* and *belli Parthici*.

⁶³ CIL III. 3660/ILS 2308. Another casualty of the Dacian conflicts is CIL V. 3372 (Verona).

⁶⁴ RIB 369. See also CIL VI. 8635/ILS 1681 for a man who died on a German expedition (*obit in expeditione Germanica*).

⁶⁵ CIL III. 5218/ILS 2309.

⁶⁶ CIL X. 5829/ILS 2726; CIL XI. 5632/ILS 2735, and Birley 1998: 302.

inscription is recorded as having been killed *in bello*, possibly the same British war that necessitated Hadrian's intervention.⁶⁷ The soldier Viatorinus, was 'killed by a Frank' in enemy territory (*in barbarico*) near the Constantinian fort *Divitia* which lay opposite Cologne on the east bank of the Rhine (Fig. 54).⁶⁸ Viatorinus and his unit from *Divitia* may have been involved in a skirmish with Frankish troops as part of Constantine's campaigns after 306 to suppress Germanic activities, although his death cannot have occurred before *Divitia* was built between 310 and 315 AD. Viatorinus was commemorated at *Divitia* with a very crude stone by the deputy commander of the fort.



Figure 54. Gravestone of Viatorinus who was killed in the early 4th century by a Frank in enemy territory and who was commemorated in Cologne-Deutz. Römisch-Germatisches Museum, Cologne

⁶⁷ Birley 1998.

⁶⁸ *CIL* XIII. 8274/*ILS* 2784/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 205. On the fort, see Carroll-Spillecke 1993.

BURIED ABROAD, COMMEMORATED AT HOME

Occasionally an epitaph will reveal that a body was shipped some distance to be buried with other members of the family. We shall see in Chapter 8 how physically mobile the people of the Roman empire could be in pursuit of fame and fortune, but physical mobility played a role even in death. According to Ulpian, the costs of bringing home the body of anyone who died abroad were part of the funeral expenses.⁶⁹ The costs cannot have been minimal. Fabius Maianus in *Ticinum* (Pavia) in northern Italy had his wife's body transported all the way from Trier on the Moselle to *Ticinum*, where she was interred in a sarcophagus in the family tomb.⁷⁰ The body of Iulia Helias, a priestess of the imperial cult in Rome in the second half of the second century AD, was transported from Rome and placed in a sarcophagus in the mausoleum of one of the leading freedmen families in Lyon.⁷¹ Flavia Ampelis had the remains of her husband, an imperial freedman and administrator, brought back from Carnuntum on the Danube to Rome by permission of the Emperor, possibly Marcus Aurelius who was on military campaigns against the Marcomanni. This act was inscribed on his marble urn.⁷² The remains of Herennia Lampas were transported from Sardinia (*ossa ex Sardinia translata sunt*) by her common-law husband to Tivoli near Rome.⁷³ It is rarely attested that families might also travel considerable distances to bury their loved ones where they had died, but Martina from somewhere in northern Gaul travelled for fifty days to set up a commemorative monument to her husband in Asolo near Padua in northern Italy.⁷⁴

How were these bodies transported, and in what condition? There are cases attested in literary sources of bodies, including those of the imperial family, being cremated abroad so that only their ashes were returned to Rome. According to Tacitus, for example, the body of Germanicus who died in AD 19 in Antioch in Syria 'had been cremated abroad in whatever way was available because of the length of the journey' (to Rome).⁷⁵ An intriguing

⁶⁹ *Digest* 11. 7. 14. 4.

⁷⁰ *S.It.* IX, 51 (*Ticinum*)/Bodel 1998: 490.

⁷¹ *CIL* XIII. 2181/Wierschowski 2001: no. 502. Noy (2000: 192–4) lists other examples of individuals whose remains were taken from Rome to be returned home.

⁷² *CIL* VI. 8878/*ILS* 1685.

⁷³ *CIL* XIV. 3777.

⁷⁴ *CIL* V. 2108/Wierschowski 2001: no. 66. It took forty days to travel from Aquileia in north-east Italy to Bordeaux in south-west Gaul, so this woman will have come from further north in Gaul. The stone is too fragmentary to reveal any further details.

⁷⁵ Tacitus, *Annals* 3. 5. 2. On other deaths abroad and the return of the remains, see the sources cited in n. 56, and see Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59. 22. 8; Seneca, *Consolation of*

archaeological find in Oberpeiching in the former province of Raetia (now Bavaria, southern Germany) may point to a more widespread occurrence of the cremation and transportation of human remains than is commonly thought. In the Roman cemetery at Oberpeiching numerous ceramic pots were found that contained cremated human bones, but the vessel in Grave 156 is particularly interesting in that it has a man's name incised on it (Acisius) and the vessel type is one typical in the more easterly provinces of Noricum or Pannonia, but not in Raetia.⁷⁶ A possible interpretation of this find might be that Acisius was in Noricum or Pannonia when he died, where he was cremated and his ashes deposited in a local pot that was then returned to Oberpeiching.

It is one thing to cremate a body and return the ashes over such long distances; it is quite another to transport a corpse over land, mountains, and sea on long and arduous journies. And we must reckon with the transport of corpses from the early to mid-second century AD when inhumation had at least begun to supplant cremation as the primary method of disposing of the body. Indeed, some of the inscriptions mention the deposition of the body at its destination in a sarcophagus, indicating that these were inhumations. Perhaps bodies occasionally were embalmed in some way, as was the case with the exiled ruler Aristobulus II of Judaea who died of poison in AD 49 in Rome. His body was preserved in honey and sent back to his family for interment.⁷⁷ And we know that it was possible to find embalmers in Rome, since the body of the empress Poppaea, wife of Nero, was treated in this way.⁷⁸ But this was a special client, and the location was Rome; we cannot assume that embalmers will have been present in every town in Italy and western Europe.

Helvia 19. 4–5, 19. 7; Martial, *Epigrams* 9. 30. Although by the early 3rd cent. AD inhumation was the norm, Tertullian (*On the Resurrection of the Body* 1) refers to cremation being the normal rite in military camps. This may have something to do with the easier transport of the bodies (in ash urns) of soldiers back home.

⁷⁶ Czysz 1999: 23–4, fig. 10. I thank Marcus Reuter for this reference.

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Jewish War* 1. 184, *Jewish Antiquities* 14. 124.

⁷⁸ Tacitus, *Annals* 16. 6. Because of the rarity of embalming outside Egypt, the mummified body of a 7-year-old girl in a marble sarcophagus found near Grottarossa on the northern outskirts of Rome remains rare and enigmatic. Analysis of the body suggests that she had suffered from tuberculosis, and the explanation that she had been in Egypt to undergo treatment in a dry climate where she died in the second half of the 2nd cent. AD, and was then embalmed to be transported back to Italy, is a seductive one: Scamuzzi 1964; Toynbee 1971: 41–2; Lavagne 1987: 164–5. In Roman Egypt mummified bodies were regularly sent from the place where they were embalmed to the place where they were buried. These mummies were given labels and tags by the embalmers authorizing their transport and burial by relatives or undertakers. Such labels are most recently discussed by Scheidel 1998.

It is clear that a body, for various reasons, as in the case of shipwrecks and death in battle, could not always be buried at the place where the deceased was commemorated. A reliable indication of a body that was not returned home is provided by the inscribed stone plaque of a large funerary monument in Mainz belonging to Tiberius Claudius Zosimus, an imperial freedman, and the procurator of the food tasters of the emperor Domitian (Fig. 55).⁷⁹ The epitaph reads: *Dis Manibus Ti(berio) Claudio / Aug(usti) L(iberto) Zosimo Proc(uratori) / Praegustatorum Imp(eratoris) / Domitiani C(a)esaris / Aug(usti) Germanici H(oc) M(onumentum) H(eredem) N(on) S(equetur)*. What makes this stone so interesting is the fact that an almost identical stone was found in the nineteenth century in Rome.⁸⁰ The epitaph in Rome differs in that the wife and daughter are named as dedicators of the stone: *Dis Manibus / Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) Lib(erti) / Zosimi Procurat(ori) / Praegustatorum / Claudia Entole coniunx / viro benemerenti / et Claudia Estachys / filia patri pientissimo*. There is no mention of a tomb (*monumentum*) on the inscription in Rome because that was clearly in Mainz. Tiberius Claudius Zosimus apparently died whilst accompanying the emperor on his campaigns



Figure 55. Epitaph panel from the tomb of the imperial freedman Tiberius Claudius Zosimus in Mainz, c. AD 83. Zosimus was commemorated with another monument in Rome. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

⁷⁹ SH 90/Selzer 1988: 130. For a society of food-tasters (*collegium praegustatorum*) see CIL VI. 9004.

⁸⁰ CIL VI. 9003/ILS 1796.

against the Chatti in AD 83. Perhaps Domitian saw to it that he was buried in Mainz, but his family back home in Rome (his wife Claudia Entole and his daughter Claudia Estachys) must have felt the need to commemorate him as well, so they constructed a cenotaph to commemorate the man and his career. Presumably they also staged a 'funeral' for him, since it was possible to 'bury' an absent body in an imaginary funeral, a *funus imaginarium*. This was one of the provisions made in the regulations of the burial society at Lanuvium (see Chapter 2).⁸¹

Zosimus is not the only one to have had a cenotaph, although many of the gravestones today are found out of context, so it is not certain whether they actually did mark the last resting place of an individual. Unless the funerary monument and the burial are found together, or unless the stone tells us where the body was buried, we cannot be sure if the 'tomb' is, in actual fact, a cenotaph. The *Digest* defined a tomb (*sepulchrum*) as the place where the body or remains of an individual were interred, but in the absence of a body the structure set up to commemorate an individual was called a memorial monument (*monumentum memoriae*), or what the Greeks call a *κενοτάφιον* (Latin *cenotaphium*).⁸² An epitaph commissioned by a husband and wife for their dead son in Rome tells us that the stone marks an empty tomb (*inane sepulchrum*).⁸³ The epitaph of a freedman of the emperor Trajan is quite specific about what was done with his body, and the consular dates in the inscription tell us exactly when it was done. This Marcus Ulpius Phaedimus died in Selinus in southern Asia Minor on 12 August AD 117, and his remains were transferred on 3 February AD 130 to Rome by permission of the college of pontiffs (*reliquiae traiectae eius... ex permissu collegii pontificum*).⁸⁴ Presumably this man originally had been buried in Selinus, and it was probably his ashes, rather than his bones, that were returned to Rome. What happened to that tomb in Selinus when Phaedimus was shipped to Rome? The *Digest* says that when burial had been performed in more than one place, only one is a *locus religiosus*, 'because one burial cannot produce more than one tomb'.⁸⁵

⁸¹ CIL XIV. 2112/ILS 7212.

⁸² *Digest* 11. 7. 42 (Florentinus), and 11. 7. 6 (Ulpian). In light of these passages in the *Digest*, Frischer's definition of a cenotaph is misleading: 'A cenotaph is only necessary when the body of the deceased is not available for burial in a spot that is for some reason appropriate, either because it has been lost (e.g. at sea) or because it had to be buried elsewhere' (Frischer 1982–3: 55). The *Digest* is much simpler: if there is no body, the site is not a tomb, and the site is not a *locus religiosus*. Frischer's distinction between a cenotaph (with no body) and an honorific memorial (with no body) is, therefore, confusing. On cenotaphs, see Ricci 2001.

⁸³ CIL VI. 3608

⁸⁴ CIL VI. 1884/ILS 1792.

⁸⁵ *Digest* 11. 7. 44. On the transfer of a body from one tomb to another, see Estiez 1995 (largely a discussion of the *Digest*).

The legal text goes on to say that when a request for the transfer of the remains is granted, the place ceases to be religious. Based on this, the tomb in Selinus would have lost its sacred character. But why did it take thirteen years for him to be transferred, and was it just his freedman Valens Phaedinianus who organized it? Were two funerals conducted for Phaedinus, one in Selinus and one much later in Rome? According to Cicero, ancient Roman law in the Twelve Tables specified that 'a dead man's bones shall not be gathered up so that a funeral may be held later'.⁸⁶ However, an exception was made for individuals who had died in war or on foreign soil, as Phaedinus did.

A rather curious epitaph found at the Roman fort at Maryport on the north-west coast of Britain also seems to suggest interment of a man at a different location than his gravestone, or at least the wish to be buried elsewhere. This stone, unfortunately, is very fragmentary, but it commemorates a man who was born in Galatia and who, when dying, craved to be buried in the tomb of his father.⁸⁷ Since the inscription was found in Britain, it is possible that the man in question had returned in ill-health to his homeland to die, but was commemorated by someone whom he had known or was related to in Britain. It is possible, however, that he longed to be returned home, but his wishes were not fulfilled, and he was buried in Maryport. And like the priestess of the imperial cult, Iulia Helia, who was returned to Lyon, and the wife of Fabius Maianus, who was brought back to Pavia (see above), this Galatian man clearly had a family tomb back home waiting for him, a luxury that not everyone will have had.

Whether their remains were sent home or not, people often died away from home and were commemorated in places where they were not interred. Claudius Aphrodisias, a *sevir Augustalis* in Lyon, set up a memorial to the 25-year-old Primitivus revealing that the young man was buried in northern Italy, *in Tuscia ad Flumen Macra*.⁸⁸ A fragmentary funerary inscription from Totana in the modern province of Murcia in south-east Spain says that the bones of the deceased were interred in far-off Germany (*cuius ossa in Germania*).⁸⁹ Veratius 'died across the sea in Greece', but he was commemorated in Fréjus in southern Gaul.⁹⁰ The 16-year-old Domesticus was commemorated in Rome, but the epitaph tells us that his ashes, his tomb, his name(!), and his altar were actually in Pollentia in northern Italy.⁹¹ Iulia Calpurnia Iusta set up

⁸⁶ *Laws* 2. 24. 60.

⁸⁷ *RIB* 758.

⁸⁸ *CIL* XIII. 1968/Wierschowski 2001: no. 457. For another individual who died in Gaul, but who had a monument in Bergamo in northern Italy, see *S.It.* XVI, 5 (*Bergomum*)/Linderski 2001: 520–1.

⁸⁹ *CIL* II. 3534.

⁹⁰ *CIL* XII. 305/Wierschowski 2001: no. 116.

⁹¹ *CIL* VI. 16913.

a memorial in Rome to her father, Gaius Iulius Iustus, who died in Britain (*defuncti in provincia Britannia*).⁹² Lucius Maecius Maelo was given a monument near Vienne on the Rhône, although 'he died in Ostia on the Tiber'.⁹³ Sextius Vinicius Iulianus, 'died in Rome', but was remembered with a stone in Grenoble in France.⁹⁴ Aulus Vitellius Valerius, a 10-year-old boy, 'died as a pupil in Rome', and was mourned by his parents in Lyon in the second century.⁹⁵ Gaius Canuleius was commemorated in the late first century BC in Capua, although he died in Gaul.⁹⁶ A second-century funerary altar found in Complutum in Spain is dedicated to Gaius Valerius Avitus, but Avitus had 'died at Rome, Italy, in his sixtieth year', not in Complutum.⁹⁷ Tiberius Claudius Abascantianus was buried in a marble urn in Rome, although he died in Gallia Narbonensis.⁹⁸ Finally, Titus Plotius Pampilus of *Legio II Adiutrix* died in Alexandria, but his gravestone was found in Aquincum in Hungary.⁹⁹

A number of funerary inscriptions commemorating soldiers record that these men were missing in action (*desiderati*), particularly in the third century AD. In these cases it is clear that the gravestone marks a cenotaph. Liberalinius Vitalis of *Legio I Minervia*, just such a man who went missing in battle (*qui bello desideratus est*) during the Thracian war, was remembered by his wife with a monument in Bonn.¹⁰⁰ Aurelius Gallus of the seventh legion also went missing *in bello Thracico*, as his tombstone in Bologna in Italy reveals.¹⁰¹ Clearly the family and friends back home had given up hope of these men returning alive, whether because they had died on the battlefield and their remains were not recovered or because they were taken by the enemy as prisoners of war.

THE DEATH OF CHILDREN

Children died of a number of causes such as disease, infection, malnutrition, and complications due to varying nursing customs, and it is the death of children and youngsters (*mors immatura*) that is most often lamented as unjust and painful. It is not stated on the tombstone what kind of illness

⁹² *CIL* VI. 1843.

⁹³ *CIL* XII. 2211/Wierschowski 2001: no. 189.

⁹⁴ *CIL* XII. 2298/Wierschowski 2001: no. 191.

⁹⁵ *CIL* XIII. 2040/Wierschowski 2001: no. 499.

⁹⁶ *CIL* X. 3886/*ILS* 2225.

⁹⁷ *CIL* II. 3035/Knapp 1992: no. 126.

⁹⁸ *CIL* VI. 14895.

⁹⁹ *AE* 1936: 163/Németh 1999: no. 66.

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* XIII. 8070. See also *CIL* III. 4835; *CIL* V. 7366; *CIL* V. 6998; *CIL* XIII. 7323/*ILS* 9148.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* XI. 705.

affected the young Lucius Aebutius Trophimianus, but the epitaph tells us that the 6-year-old had been ill for one year and four months before he died in Aquileia.¹⁰² Gravestones from around the empire reveal that it was not unusual for some unfortunate families to lose several children. Flavius Provincialis and Flavia Avita from Regensburg in southern Germany buried three of their children, the 2-month-old Flavia Victorina, the 5-year-old Flavius Victor, and the 12-year-old Flavia Procila.¹⁰³ A father in Mainz, who was a Treveran citizen, saw his three children, Respectus aged 8, Veranius aged 3, and Samocna aged 2, to the grave.¹⁰⁴ Caecilia Cara, a 13-year-old, Quintus Sentianus, a 9-year-old, and Quintus Caecilius Silvanus, who was 7, were buried in Hadrianic Portus by their father.¹⁰⁵ A couple in Vienne on the Rhône buried their three children within twenty-seven days, perhaps due to an epidemic.¹⁰⁶

Ancient Roman practice forbade parents to formally mourn children who died under the age of 3, and criticism of parents is occasionally expressed in Roman sources if they mourned the death of their very young children (see Chapter 7).¹⁰⁷ Marullus was criticized by Seneca for mourning the death of his infant son who, in Seneca's words, was 'a little child of unknown promise' and 'a fragment of time (that) has been lost'.¹⁰⁸ The tombstones, however, indicate that, in reality, it was not uncommon for very young children to be mourned and commemorated. Telesphoris and her husband in Mainz, for example, appear to have lost two babies at different times in the second century, and each child had its own gravestone. On one of them, there is no name given for the child and no age, but a 'sweetest little daughter' is commemorated in the epitaph, and the stone bears a carved image of a very young child (Fig. 56).¹⁰⁹ On the other stone, the death of a second daughter only six months and eight days old is lamented by the same parents (Fig. 57).¹¹⁰ The stone is almost identical in form and design to the other

¹⁰² *CIL* V. 1055.

¹⁰³ *SH* 240.

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* XIII. 11888/Krier 1981: 32/Selzer 1988: 101/*CSIR* II, 6. 34/Wierschowski 2001: no. 591.

¹⁰⁵ Thylander 1952: A145.

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* XII. 2003.

¹⁰⁷ Plutarch, *Numa* 12.

¹⁰⁸ *Moral Essays* 99. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* XIII. 7114/Selzer 1988: 126/*CSIR* II, 6. 89.

¹¹⁰ *CIL* XIII. 7113/Selzer 1988: 127/*CSIR* II, 6. 88. Both stones were found on the same site in 1861, and it has been assumed that this was once within a Roman cemetery. Witteyer and Fasold 1995: 119–21, following *CSIR* II, 6, p. 124, suggest that there was only one baby involved and that the baby's mother found the first and simpler stone unacceptable and, as a consequence, had another more elaborate one made. This seems unlikely if the site was a cemetery, because both stones would have stood in that cemetery at the same time. Since the simpler stone is not completely finished (the trees on the short sides are not fully carved), it is possible that the location of these stones was not actually a Roman cemetery but a sculptor's workshop. If that were the case, one stone may have been rejected in favour of the other one, and both of them were still in the workshop where they were left for some unknown reason. Either scenario is unnecessarily complicated, and it is far more reasonable to assume that two different babies are involved, each with its own memorial in the same cemetery.



Figure 56. Tombstone of Odenwald ‘marble’ of a baby girl commemorated by Telesphoris and her husband with an epitaph and depiction of a baby girl from Mainz, mid-2nd century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

one, and it too is adorned with a depiction of a pudgy baby. The epitaph refers to this child as *filia dulcissima*, as does the other inscription, but a verse follows containing the imagery of a wilting rose and with words expressing the pain her death caused her parents (see Chapter 6).



Figure 57. Sandstone monument of a baby girl commemorated by Telesphoris and her husband in Mainz, mid-2nd century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

There are many other very young children commemorated in the epitaphs. Visellia Firma was only one year and fifty days old when she was buried in the second century in Avenches, Annius Calpurnius was only five months and twenty days old when he died in Ostia, and Salvius Felix was a mere one month and twenty-five days when his parents laid him to rest in Lyon.¹¹¹ Even the time of day at which the young Lucius Valerius died in Rome at the age of

¹¹¹ Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 13; *CIL* XIV. 570/Thylander 1952: B15; *CIL* XIII. 2255.

seventy-one days is given on his epitaph.¹¹² He was born during the night in the sixth hour, and he died during the night in the sixth hour. In the city of Rome the youngest children commemorated are forty and forty-five days old, with one possible death at twenty-eight days.¹¹³ However, these are not the youngest babies recorded in pagan funerary epigraphy. The youngest must be the tiny newborn Vernaculus who was buried by his father, Lucius Cassius Tacitus, in Cologne after an extremely short life of only nine days (see Appendix, No. 10; Fig. 58).¹¹⁴ The day on which infants were given a name was the *dies lustricus*; it took place on the ninth day for male babies and on the eighth day for baby girls.¹¹⁵ It would appear that Vernaculus in Cologne had just been given his name when he died. Children who did not reach their *dies lustricus* died without a name, precluding their commemoration as named

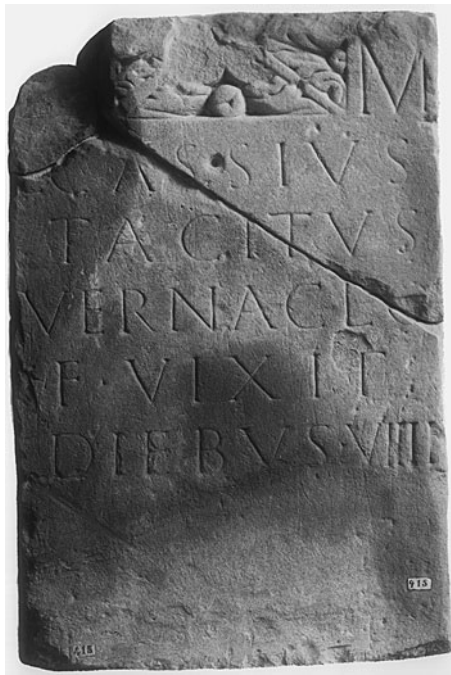


Figure 58. Gravestone of the nine-day-old Vernaculus, buried by his father Lucius Cassius Tacitus in Cologne, 2nd or 3rd century AD. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

¹¹² *CIL* VI. 28044/*ILS* 8191.

¹¹³ *CIL* VI. 23642; *CIL* VI. 1334; *CIL* VI. 15122. These are discussed by King 2000: 125.

¹¹⁴ *CIL* XIII. 8375/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 373/Faust 1998: cat. no. 110.

¹¹⁵ On the *dies lustricus*, see Wiedemann 1989: 17; Rawson 1997a: 14.

individuals. This may account, in part, for the non-appearance of extremely young babies in funerary epitaphs.

It is commonly stated that babies are underrepresented in the epigraphic material, whereas children between the ages of one and nine and youths aged 10 to 19 are overrepresented. According to Hopkins, only 1.3 per cent of the funerary inscriptions from the city of Rome and Italy record the death of babies under one year of age.¹¹⁶ King's calculations on infant mortality in Rome suggest that 4.6 per cent of the funerary inscriptions were dedicated to infants under 4 years of age, and of those infants the category of those younger than one year is the smallest with 9.4 per cent.¹¹⁷ My calculation of the epigraphic evidence from the Isola Sacra cemetery in Portus gives a total of sixty-four individuals up to the age of 20 (sixty-four individuals on sixty-one epitaphs out of 477 = 12.8 per cent of epitaphs).¹¹⁸ In my sample of 477 epitaphs from this cemetery, babies under the age of one make up only 1 per cent, 7 per cent are for children between 1 and 9, and 4.6 per cent concern children aged 10 to 19. Of those sixty-four individuals, 39 per cent are infants up to 5 years of age, 22 per cent are children aged 5 to 10, 19 per cent are individuals aged 10 to 15, and 20 per cent are youths aged 15 to 20. Of all the sixty-four children 9.4 per cent were babies in the category of under one year of age, as in Rome, indicating that here too the very young were the least likely group to be commemorated. If we take only those children up to the age of 15 (fifty-one individuals on forty-nine epitaphs out of 477 = 10 per cent), however, 49 per cent commemorate children under 5, 27 per cent are to children between 5 and 10, and 23 per cent are dedicated to children between 10 and 15. In either case, infants under the age of 5, but older than 1, are the most likely age group to be commemorated.

The number of infants under one year of age who were given a funerary inscription in the Roman world stands in contrast to the reality of infant mortality, considering that the first hours, weeks, and months of a child's life were the most crucial period for a baby to survive. Indeed, the stone votive figures excavated in the Gallo-Roman healing sanctuary of Fontes Sequanae at the source of the Seine include several images of tiny babies in swaddling clothes, as they, in particular, needed divine protection to survive the first two

¹¹⁶ Hopkins 1983: 225. Even in medieval England, it was not until the 1420s that children seem to have been considered worthy of commemoration by being depicted on memorial brasses, and not until 1467 that babies wrapped in swaddling clothes make their appearance in this context: Litten 1991: 61. In the 16th and 17th centuries, stillborn children who died before baptism were disposed of unceremoniously, as if they were hardly human: Gittings 1999: 150.

¹¹⁷ King 2000: 125.

¹¹⁸ Thylander's catalogue (1952) is taken as a basis for this calculation.

months of life before the removal of the swaddling bands.¹¹⁹ Perhaps the expectations of Roman society regarding commemoration of the dead did not relate as strongly to infants of such a young age, or perhaps the mourning of their passing was not an overtly public affair. We should not assume, however, that Roman babies were 'discarded' without any regard for them; nor should we presume that the relative invisibility of children in Roman cemeteries in Italy is mirrored in other areas of Europe. Wild noted the frequency with which newborn or very young infants were depicted at healing centres in Gaul, and he suggested that in Gaul a higher value might have been placed on the life of a very young child than in Roman Italy.¹²⁰ Although this is difficult to substantiate without further analysis, certainly at Belginum in eastern Gallia Belgica very young children were buried together with adult men and women, possibly as family groups, and they also were given grave goods.¹²¹ Furthermore, excavations at the rural cemetery of Chantambre in northern Gallia Lugdunensis revealed that 155 of the 495 graves from the late first to the early fifth century AD were for children, the vast majority for neonates and some for children between 2 and 4 years of age.¹²² These children were buried in halved jars or ceramic urns in a reserved area within a cemetery that was used by the whole population, suggesting that they were viewed as something special, but still very much a part of the community.

In the Isola Sacra material, both parents are the primary commemorators of individuals under 20, followed, in order of frequency, by fathers, and then mothers alone. Sometimes a grandparent, an uncle, a sister, a brother, a foster-parent, or the owner of a (slave) child was responsible for setting up a memorial, sometimes no commemorator at all is named. King's study of the epitaphs in Rome also shows the prevalence of both parents as commemorators, followed by fathers alone, and then mothers.¹²³ There are, however, regional differences in the role mothers, fathers, and parents play as dedicators. Gallivan and Wilkins recognized that, for example, in northern Italy

¹¹⁹ Aldhouse-Green 1999: 16, figs. 14–18, pl. 10. On the dangers in early life, see King 2000: 125; Nielsen 1997: 174. For modern experiments on wrapping babies in swaddling bands, see Coulon 2004/5.

¹²⁰ Wild 1999: 64.

¹²¹ Haffner 1989b: 96–8, fig. 66. Neonates and babies less than six months old also are well represented in Kempten, the *civitas* capital of the Celtic Estiones in Raetia, in which the native population as well as immigrants from Gaul and northern Italy settled in the early 1st cent. AD: Mackensen 1978: 124, 145–9. The inclusion here of baby food (*pabulum*) in the grave of a child under six months shows clearly that great care was taken to provide necessities specific to such young and vulnerable individuals for the afterlife: Mackensen 1978: 172. Grave goods such as baby bottles (filled with mother's milk) and toys are also indicative of this: Durand 2004/5; Rouquet 2004/5. A study of infant burials by the author is in progress.

¹²² Murail and Girard 2000: 107–9.

¹²³ King 2000: 148–9.

(Umbria, Etruria, Gallia Cispadana) both parents appear most frequently as commemorators, followed by mothers alone, and then fathers.¹²⁴

The deceased recorded in these inscriptions generally were children or youths who were unmarried and still part of the 'descending nuclear family', and only if the parents presumably were no longer alive were they commemorated, for example, by a sibling or a grandparent. Girls were marriageable at 12, and it has been suggested by Hopkins that possibly over 50 per cent of Roman girls would have married by the age of 15, roughly the same age at which boys achieved manhood.¹²⁵ Shaw came to a different conclusion, namely that most girls in the western empire married in their late teens.¹²⁶ His data on the age of Roman girls at marriage based on funerary inscriptions in Rome, Italy, North Africa, Spain, and the Danubian provinces has shown that parents remained the predominant commemorators of their daughters until the early twenties. Saller's data on the age of marriage for Roman men, on the other hand, indicates that men tended to marry in their mid- to late twenties, leaving a possible age gap of about ten years between the age of marriage for young men and young women.¹²⁷ If these young (unmarried) women died during this gap, they were commemorated by their parents. And it is their parents who provide a particular set of grave goods for these young girls who never were able to be brides (*immaturae et innuptae*). Martin-Kilcher has shown that a widely dispersed group of graves in western Europe of girls between the ages of 5 and 20 contain (bridal) jewellery and items of costume, spindles and distaffs, and mirrors, but also dolls (usually ivory) and miniature objects and amulets which the girls probably would have dedicated to the gods before their wedding as symbols of a completed childhood.¹²⁸ The spindle and distaff, of course, were considered essential equipment for a Roman woman who would have spent a good deal of her time spinning and making clothes for the family and whose industriousness in this regard is often mentioned in epitaphs (see Chapter 7); these never-to-be brides were given this equipment, although it would not be used.

DEATH IN OLD AGE

When ages over 60, and even over 100, are named in epitaphs, if these are at all reliable, the cause of death perhaps was simply old age. The epitaph of Pusa in Mainz claims that he had reached the ripe old age of 120, but it also

¹²⁴ Gallivan and Wilkins 1997: 244–5, table 10.7.

¹²⁵ Hopkins 1965: 319; Hopkins 1966: 260. See also Treggiari 1991*b*.

¹²⁶ Shaw 1987: 39. ¹²⁷ Saller 1987: 25–8. ¹²⁸ Martin-Kilcher 2000: 64–73.

commemorates a woman named Vinda, possibly his wife, who was 80.¹²⁹ His age appears quite surprising, all the more so since his daughter, Prisca, is also buried here, and she was only 30. This would have made Pusa 90 when he fathered her. We might assume that Prisca died much earlier when her father was a younger man and that his name could have been added later when he died. This is the case with a tombstone in Complutum in Spain on which a 40-year-old man and his 70-year-old wife are commemorated, the text for the two individuals having been cut at different times.¹³⁰ However the three names of Pusa, Vinda, and Prisca on the stone from Mainz were carved at the same time by the same hand, so either they really were of widely variant ages, or all three names were inscribed all together many years after the death of Prisca when her father died.

The nurse Volumnia Dynamis died in Rome at the age of 105.¹³¹ Jumma, a man from the Mediomatrici tribe on the middle Rhine, died at 100 near Heilbronn in Germany, whilst his wife Atuns lived to be 80.¹³² Iulius Valens, a veteran of the second legion in Caerleon in Wales, is said to have been 100 years old when he was buried by his wife and son, and Rusticinius Errenius survived his military service in *Legio XXX* to reach the age of 90 in Lyon.¹³³ Hedia Acte reached the age of 85 and was commemorated by her son in Portus.¹³⁴ Tiberius Claudius Acutus, a temple assistant at the temple of Concordia in Rome, died at 96.¹³⁵ Other aged individuals include Iulia Secundinia from Caerleon, who was 75, the Syrian Marcus Aurelius Alexander from Chester who lived to be 72, the Carthaginian glass manufacturer in Lyon aged 80 (Fig. 9), and Claudia Crysis from Lincoln who was 90.¹³⁶

There is an apparent regional discrepancy in the ages of the elderly quoted in epitaphs. Hopkins pointed out that the inscriptions from North Africa giving ages at death over 70 are 24.8 per cent of the total, whilst in Rome they comprise less than 1 per cent.¹³⁷ The North African ages include several individuals of 120 and substantial numbers of men and women of 100–10 and 90–9. Gaius Iulius Saturninus and his wife Aelia Matrona, for example, lived to be 107 and 75 respectively.¹³⁸ People of both sexes of these ages also are present in the epigraphy of western Europe and Britain, as we have seen above. One particular area in western Europe that needs highlighting in this regard is the province of Baetica in southern Spain. Octagenarians are not uncommon in Baetican funerary inscriptions, but ages of 92, 95, 99, and even

¹²⁹ *CIL* XIII. 7101/Selzer 1988: 123.

¹³⁰ Knapp 1992: no. 149.

¹³¹ *CIL* VI. 29497/*ILS* 8538.

¹³² *CIL* XIII. 6460/Wierschowski 2001: no. 564.

¹³³ *RIB* 363; *CIL* XIII. 1884.

¹³⁴ *CIL* XIV. 1097/Thylander 1952: B81.

¹³⁵ *CIL* VI. 2204/*ILS* 4998.

¹³⁶ *RIB* 373; *RIB* 490; *CIL* XII. 2000/*ILS* 7648/Wierschowski 2001: no. 469; *RIB* 263.

¹³⁷ Hopkins 1966: 249.

¹³⁸ *CIL* VIII. 9124/*ILS* 8084.

100, 115, 125, and 140 are recorded.¹³⁹ The ratio of aged men to women is about 3:1, although the oldest person, the 140-year-old, was a woman.

Illiteracy and educational deficiencies might be made responsible for the apparent longevity of some people, and perhaps not everyone knew exactly when they were born. If ages are at all mentioned in literary sources, this is done to highlight that they were exceptional. Pliny the Elder mentions the results of an official census of AD 74 in Regio VIII (Aemilia) in Italy, stating that in this region eighty-one persons claimed to be 100 years of age or older.¹⁴⁰ He also reported on the census results of the region between the Appenines and the Po which indicated that fifty-four persons thought they were older than 100, with three individuals who claimed to be 140 years old.¹⁴¹ This puts the 140-year-old woman from Baetica discussed above in the same league. But without statistics on the total population of these regions we cannot calculate what percentage were centenarians, nor is it certain that the age data given to the census takers were reliable. People could simply have lied to the census-takers. The epigraphic evidence indicates frequent age rounding in bands of five and ten years, more so for individuals of servile and low status and for those living in remote areas, less so for the upper class of city magistrates whose age of eligibility for office was closely monitored.¹⁴² But even if we assume, with some researchers, that ages were rounded, for example the age recorded might be 40 when the individual was, in reality, only 37, this still does not account for the very high and exaggerated ages given in some funerary inscriptions. Or are we to assume that someone who said they were 100 were really 'only' ninety-two or eighty-five?

Hopkins asked the question whether the ages at death that were recorded on Roman funerary monuments were in any way useful for calculating the ages at death of adults and children at different times and in different places in the Roman empire, and came to the conclusion that they were not because the recorded ages are 'a biased sample of all deaths'.¹⁴³ He suggested that the figures given in the Roman epitaphs might reflect different tendencies in commemorative practice rather than actual differences in mortality. It is plausible that one of the culturally determined factors at least in part

¹³⁹ Ages 80+: *CIL* II²/5. 242 = *CIL* II. 5467; *CIL* II²/5. 261; *CIL* II²/5. 451 = *CIL* II. 1565; *CIL* II²/5. 684 = *CIL* II. 2067; *CIL* II²/5. 704 = *CIL* II. 5500; *CIL* II²/5. 964 = *CIL* II. 5049; *CIL* II²/5. 1007. Age 92: *CIL* II²/5. 725 = *CIL* II. 5497. Age 95: *CIL* II²/5. 1187 = *CIL* II. 5459. Age 99: *CIL* II²/5. 370 = *CIL* II. 1600. Age 100: *CIL* II²/5. 370 = *CIL* II. 1600. Age 115: *CIL* II²/5. 707 = *CIL* II. 2065. Age 125: *CIL* II²/5. 942 = *CIL* II. 1450. Age 140: *CIL* II²/5. 991.

¹⁴⁰ *Natural History* 7. 48. 153–9. On the census, see Parkin 2003: 182–8.

¹⁴¹ *Natural History* 7. 162–3.

¹⁴² Duncan-Jones 1977; Parkin 2003: 31. On age-rounding in late Roman and early medieval epitaphs, see Handley 2003: 74–88.

¹⁴³ Hopkins 1987: 113.

responsible for a certain exaggeration, or even deliberate falsification, of ages on inscriptions in some regions of the empire might have been the prestige attached to or the pride taken in old age and a long, full life. One is reminded of Statilia (or Sattia) in Rome, mentioned by Martial, Seneca, and Pliny, who made certain that her ripe old age of 99 was mentioned in her epitaph, indicating that her longevity was of importance to her and needed to be remembered.¹⁴⁴ As Shaw suggests, the emphasis in funerary commemoration on old age amongst the North African populations may be linked to particular forms of family organization and the desire to recognize seniority as a sign of power and prestige.¹⁴⁵ The Roman attitudes towards age and ageing that are always cited in modern scholarship varied between respect and contempt, but the source of these attitudes are the literary works that discuss the lives of upper class Romans in Rome.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps in other parts of the empire, and for other classes of society, high ages were equated to a lesser degree with ill-health, physical weakness, and vulnerability, even if the extreme ages recorded in some epitaphs are not only unlikely, but at times frankly impossible. The sense of deep pride in a long life and in the personal and professional success achieved during that life is unmistakable, for example, in an epitaph from Maktar in North Africa: 'I have seen my children and my grandchildren grow up around me, and I have enjoyed years distinguished by the merits of my career...' ¹⁴⁷

VARIABLES IN LIFE-SPAN DATA AND LIFE EXPECTANCY

The average life expectancy in the Roman period normally may have been 25 years, but, as Scheidel concluded, many factors influenced local and regional variation in age structure, and there is no standard model for life expectancy that can be applied to the evidence.¹⁴⁸ A significant problem for historians attempting to use the ages at death recorded on funerary monuments is that the variation in age samples is affected by the cultural variations in commemoration. Not everyone had a gravestone, and not all gravestones give the age at death. The data included in epitaphs, therefore, reveal the average life-span of individuals commemorated by inscriptions, but not the average life-span of the whole population of a region. Nielsen rejected the reliability of data on age

¹⁴⁴ Martial, *Epigrams* 3. 93. 20; Seneca, *Moral Essays* 77. 20; Pliny, *Natural History* 7. 158.

¹⁴⁵ Shaw 1991: 78.

¹⁴⁶ Harlow and Laurence 2002: 117–27; Parkin 2003: 60–89; Cockayne 2003: 75–111.

¹⁴⁷ *CIL* VIII. 11824/*ILS* 7457.

¹⁴⁸ Scheidel 1994; Scheidel 2001: 13–32.

at death, concluding 'that the epigraphic age distribution does not reflect demographic reality'.¹⁴⁹ Harlow and Laurence are not only sceptical about such figures, they suggest that the variation of age data in the Roman empire reflects 'a pattern of epigraphic commemoration that was culturally determined', rather than giving a true picture of mortality.¹⁵⁰

Furthermore, different disease environments created different age structures, and varying temperatures and environmental conditions in different parts of the empire will have affected mortality rates. Roman writers hint at 'bad seasons' and 'good seasons', and they were aware that some times of the year were more disadvantageous than others. Shaw has studied the rates of mortality in the populations of Italy and North Africa, basing his conclusions on the information contained in Christian epitaphs and relating the uneven distribution to seasons and seasonal conditions.¹⁵¹ His study suggests, for example, that the late summer and early autumn in the city of Rome were periods of crisis, at which time the mortality rate for both males and females increased. For the aged, in particular, not only was this time of year 'dangerous', but also mid-winter and spring, due to the susceptibility of the elderly to respiratory and other diseases. In Italy, the data for the regions in the north of the peninsula, unlike the south, generally show a high season of death in the winter months, probably due to environmental conditions. Handley's study of the same kind of data in late Roman and early medieval Spain and Gaul indicates that the patterns in seasonal mortality varied from place to place and from age-group to age-group, except in the Rhône valley towns of Arles, Vienne, and Lyon. Nowhere are there the late summer peaks in mortality that are seen in Rome.¹⁵² Such studies of the mortuary data reveal distinctive patterns of seasonal death in various regions of the empire, and the ongoing research on the disparate factors affecting life expectancy should make us wary of attempting to determine a standard empire-wide pattern in mortality, causes of death, and age structure.

¹⁴⁹ Nielsen 1997: 173.

¹⁵⁰ Harlow and Laurence 2002: 6–7.

¹⁵¹ Shaw 1996.

¹⁵² Handley 2003: 100–9.

Family and Household

Lucius Verginius Atilianus, son of Lucius, from the voting district of Oufentina, priest of the imperial cult, did this for himself and for Lucius Verginius Messorius, his father, and for Vervecia Atilia, daughter of Quintus, his mother, and for Marcus Didius Marcellus and Lucius Verginius Quintianus, his brothers, and for Verginia Paulina and Verginia Atilia, his sisters, and for Iunia Sentia and Paulina, his wives, and for Constantius, his freedman.

(Funerary epitaph from Milan: *CIL* V. 5899)

THE NUCLEAR AND THE EXTENDED FAMILY

Familial relationships recorded in funerary epitaphs appear sometimes very simple, sometimes rather complicated, but the inscribed text always gives us only part of the picture. The epitaphs record some, but not all, family ties, and the actual extent and complexity of familial relationships the deceased once enjoyed whilst alive cannot be reconstructed with any real confidence. Although most soldiers in the first and second centuries were commemorated by their comrades, for example, it cannot be assumed that they had no blood relatives anywhere, just that they may not have lived near the base where the soldier was stationed. It was not the 'job' of an epitaph to provide a complete family tree or to record all the relatives of the deceased.

Many kinds of family ties can be recognised in funerary epitaphs, but the simplest memorials are those set up by one family member to another. A few examples here from Cologne, Mainz, Portus, and Vaison will suffice to illustrate this:¹

Pompeia Dagania had this made during her lifetime for herself and Marcus Aurelius Victor, veteran of the First Legion.

¹ *CIL* XIII. 8279/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 212; *CIL* XIII. 11876/Selzer 1988: 97; *CIL* XIII. 7086/Selzer 1988: 128; Thylander 1952: A224; *CIL* XII. 1391.

Bonica, daughter of Arto, had this stone made during her lifetime for herself and her daughter Sincorilla who lived thirty years.

Gamuxperus, son of Andangus, his son Titus had this stone made.

Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus, who lived nineteen years and ten months, Fabricia Ursilla did this for her sweetest son.

Annia Pupa had this made for Gaius Annius Atilianus, her grandson.

The pool of possible commemorators was not limited to spouses, parents, grandparents, and children. Lucius Senofilus, for example, set up a stone to his niece Lifana in Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall.² We might conclude that Lifana's parents or a possible husband were no longer alive so that Senofilus as her maternal uncle (*avunculus*) assumed the role of the head of the family and was responsible for her burial. The maternal uncle in Roman society often appears as a fatherly figure, possibly as a guardian, but generally with no financial responsibilities. If the older brother assumed the role of commemorator of a younger sister, it might be that he had become the head of the family after the death of his father, or, if he and his sister were slaves lacking parents and a legal spouse, perhaps he was responsible for her.³ Thus, the freeborn Sallustia Romana, who was 21, may have had no one else in Portus to commemorate her but her brother, Lucius Sallustius Ianuarius.⁴ Felicissimus, imperial slave in Portus, set up a memorial in the mid-second century to his 14-year-old sister, Felicissima.⁵ They might have been sold into slavery together, with no parents or other relatives available to bury them. Equally, a woman could be the family's only survivor, leaving her to commemorate a brother or sister, as is perhaps the case with Annia Ionice who buried her brother Publius Gabinius Annianus.⁶ Lucius Decimus Attianus, his wife, and their two children were commemorated by Attianus' brother-in-law and sister-in-law (*soceriones*) in Ramasse in Gallia Lugdunensis.⁷

Saller and Shaw in their research on family relations have championed the primary importance of the nuclear family, with more than 80 per cent of relationships expressed in funerary inscriptions in parts of western Europe falling in this category.⁸ Their methodology in using the epigraphic data is criticized, however, by Martin who suggests that the inscriptions actually reveal family structures involving multi-generational and laterally extended

² *RIB* 1830.

³ On the role of male and female relatives in women's lives, see Pomeroy 1976 and Hallett 1984.

⁴ Thylander 1952: A216.

⁵ *Ibid.* A101.

⁶ *Ibid.* A123.

⁷ *ILTG* 309.

⁸ Saller and Shaw 1984: 134.

families, even if they are organized around a nuclear core.⁹ It must be remembered that a husband-to-wife, a mother-to-daughter, or a parents-to-son dedication, for example, records only the person who died and the one(s) who set up the stone, not how many other members of the family played a role in the life of the deceased or whether they were still alive. Sometimes, and in some regions, very large families appear in the epitaphs, confirming the complexity of the Roman family beyond the simple mother-father-child group. The epitaph at the beginning of this chapter records the family of a Milanese man consisting of his parents, two brothers, two sisters, and two wives. A funerary inscription of a young man in second-century Lyon names his father, his mother, his brother, and sister, as well as his grandmother, grandfather, and one of their granddaughters as dedicators (see Appendix, No. 12).¹⁰ The commemorative inscription of the freedman Marcus Aurelius Carpophorus in Rome records himself, his wife and children, his brother and his brother's children, his foster child, and his freedmen and freedwomen.¹¹ Such epitaphs give insight into extended families over several generations.

Furthermore, although the Roman household consisted normally of the conjugal family, the death of or divorce from a spouse often meant that men and women remarried, producing children from more than one marriage who may all have lived under the same roof or at least continued to have close contact with each other. Examples from the upper echelons of society of men who were married several times, either because their wives died in childbirth or because they saw political and social advantages to marrying into other families, are numerous in the literary sources.¹² Likewise, women who survived their husbands, the latter generally being at least ten years older in non-elite families and possibly as little as four or five years in aristocratic families, often remarried and had children by other men.¹³ The result was the so-called 'blended family' that was, in Bradley's words, 'an extremely fluid organism'.¹⁴

Rawson distinguishes between 'family' and 'household', the latter group perhaps living with the family, but not being responsible for commemoration after death.¹⁵ It is to be expected, however, that there were many individuals grouped around the family, related by blood or not, who may not have

⁹ Martin 1996. Edmondson 2000, in his discussion of family relations in Emerita Augusta in Lusitania, upholds Martin's criticisms of Saller and Shaw.

¹⁰ *CIL* XIII. 1924.

¹¹ *CIL* VI. 13021.

¹² Corbier 1991; Bradley 1991.

¹³ Shaw 1987; Saller 1987. On the age gap, see McGinn 1999: 625.

¹⁴ Bradley 1991: 97.

¹⁵ Rawson 1997.

co-habited, but nevertheless had close ties with each other.¹⁶ The complexity of family or household relations is illustrated by the eleven individuals united in death in the first decades of the second century in Tomb 106 in the Isola Sacra cemetery in Portus.¹⁷ Above the door of the tomb was the main external epitaph (in Greek) stating that it was built for Titus Munatius Proculus by Iulia Procula, her mother Munatia Helpis, and a doctor named Gaius Marcus Demetrius. Here only four names are given. Inside the tomb were nine inscriptions on plaques, name plates on statues, an altar, a cinerary urn, and a sarcophagus naming three of the people on the external inscription as well as eight others: Iulia Procula (daughter of Tiberius [Iulius Proculus]), her two sisters Iulia Nymphidia and Iulia Phronime, the husband of Iulia Phronime, Munatia Helpis (mother of Iulia Procula), Titus Munatius Proculus Iulianus who is named in the main external epitaph (6-year-old son of Iulia Procula and Titus [Munatius...]), various members of the family of the Munatii (Marcus Munatius Licinius, his wife Curtia Gemella, and their son Marcus Munatius Marcianus), and two other individuals (Titus Liburcius Marinus and his son Titus Liburcius Marcus Marinus) whose relationship to the others is not clear. Thus, relying only on the inscription mounted on the outside of the tomb would wrongly lead us to think that only a small group of individuals found their last resting place here.

The extended family or household could also include various dependants, including slaves and sometimes freedmen, who lived together with the family. A group of funerary monuments of the Flavian period excavated at Montagnana to the west of Ateste in north-east Italy records the communal burial in the same plot of the Vassidii family. This includes the freeborn couple and their son, two freedwomen, and two freedmen of the family, as well as the slave son of one of the latter.¹⁸ The household might also extend to friends who are represented in the funerary inscription. Lucius Hilarianus Cinnamus in Lyon, for example, was given an inscribed gravestone in Lyon by his father-in-law and a friend, both of them being his heirs.¹⁹ Friends are also in evidence in Tomb 23OS outside the Porta Nocera at Pompeii. The inscription on this so-called temple tomb of the first half of the first century AD tells us that it was built by the freedman Publius Vesonius Phileros for himself while alive, for his patroness Vesonias, and for his friend Marcus Orfellius Faustus; the statues on the upper storey depict these three. However, something went

¹⁶ For a discussion of the wider family and their relationships, see Martin 1996: 49–51; Saller 1997.

¹⁷ Thylander 1952: A152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 165, 183, 184, 185/Bloch 1944: 217–18. On the complex family structures often apparent in the tombs at Portus, see Hope 1997.

¹⁸ *AE* 1997: 604/*S.It.* 15: nos. 31, 149, 202/Bodel 2003: 491.

¹⁹ *CIL* XIII. 1996/*ILS* 7032.

terribly wrong with this friendship, because at some later point a second inscription was added to the monument in which Phileros wrote:

This man whom I had hoped was my friend, I am forsaking: a case was maliciously brought against me; I was charged and legal proceedings were instituted; I gave thanks to the gods and to my innocence, I was freed from all distress. May neither the household gods nor the gods below receive the one who misrepresented our affairs (Fig. 59).²⁰

Phileros and his patroness Vesonia are commemorated with *columelle* at the back of the tomb, along with fourteen other individuals, but there is no *columella* with the name of his former friend Faustus. Perhaps he had been barred from being buried here after his name had been carved in the principal inscription; Phileros, at any rate, wanted him cursed and damned.

As is often the case, Pompeian cemeteries preserve not only the inscriptions allowing us to recognize larger households, including slaves and freedmen,

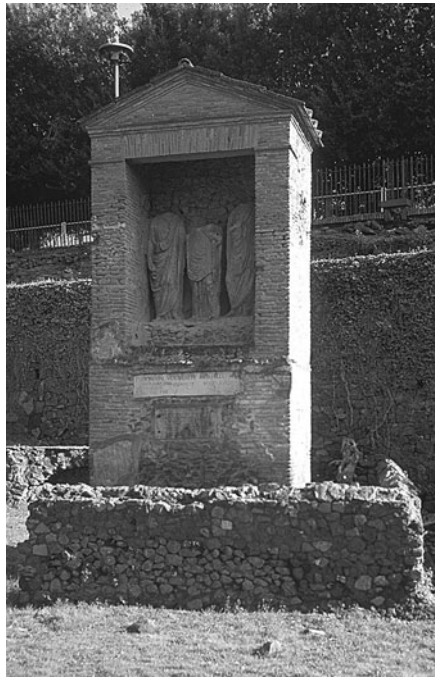


Figure 59. Tomb of the freedman Publius Vesonius Phileros, his patroness, and his friend Marcus Orfellius Faustus outside the Porta Nocera at Pompeii, first half of the 1st century AD. The upper inscription names the three as owners of the tomb; the lower inscription records a legal dispute and the end of the friendship between the two men

²⁰ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tomb 23OS; Cooley and Cooley 2004: 152–3.

but also the actual burials in their original context. Gaius Munatius Faustus and his wife Naevoleia Tyche are buried in the cemetery outside the Porta Nocera with a freedwoman, a freedman, and four slaves between the ages of 11 months and 3 years; a fifth slave was 26 years old (Fig. 35).²¹ These slave children are almost certainly slaves born in the household (*vernae*) of the two owners. Ownership of the tomb of Lucius Barbidius and his wife Pithia Rufilla, both freedmen, and their two sons Vitalus and Ianuarius, is publicized by the inscription above the door of Tomb 15ES facing the street outside the Porta Nocera.²² Inside are eleven cremation burials, all marked by a *columella*, and they reveal a far more complex group of people than the main epitaph does. The father and two sons are given a *columella* each (the mother is 'missing'), but there are also a male and a female slave, three men of freedmen status, and another woman whose relationship to the Barbidii is unclear, as well as two more anonymous individuals with anepigraphic grave markers. There is no apparent difference between the commemoration of the slaves and freedmen and the actual owners of the tomb. Nor is there an obvious difference recognizable in the household group of nineteen individuals buried in 'Area B' in the same cemetery in the first century AD.²³ Mercurialis, the 11-year-old slave, is buried right next to the freeborn Calventia Primilla, probably one of the owners of the plot. Various other individuals of the Calventii family and people whose names were not inscribed on the *columelle* are positioned side by side, all nineteen of them arranged in the shape of the Greek letter *Π*, facing each other across the divide, and forming a close-knit household group even in death.

In the majority of cases the heir to a deceased man or woman was a member of the immediate family, but it was not always so. According to Meyer, the obligation to perform the rites for the deceased (this may not have involved a monument) primarily fell upon people bound to the deceased by legal ties of heirship and property, and these were not necessarily the natural family.²⁴ Cicero associated children, inheritance, and wills with commemoration, but the same author discussed the various possibilities in determining who was legally responsible for performing the rites of burial and commemoration.²⁵ What is clear is that 'the performance of the rites may be imposed upon those to whom the property passes, so that the memory of them may not die out'.²⁶ According to Cicero's discussion of the law, the heirs were the

²¹ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983: Tomb 9ES.

²² Ibid., Tomb 15ES.

²³ D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1987: 216–18, pls. 31a, 35h, 36e–g.

²⁴ Meyer 1990: 76.

²⁵ *Tusculan Disputations* 1. 31; *Laws* 2. 48–9. Cicero's remarks are based on the legal rulings in the *Digest* 11. 7. 12. 4–6.

²⁶ *Laws* 2. 48.

main group obliged to bury the deceased, followed secondly by anyone who had inherited half the estate or been given it as a legacy. If there was no heir, the obligation fell to the person who had acquired most of the dead man's property. Failing all of these, the principal creditor or the person who owed money to the deceased was bound to perform the rites.²⁷ It may be correct that heirship very often fell within the family, but there might not always have been family living or available to fulfil this role, nor might the deceased have wanted to pass his property on to his family.

THE FAMILIES AND HEIRS OF SOLDIERS

For soldiers who were uprooted from their families and sent to the frontiers in the first and second centuries AD the heirs to their property frequently were not family members. In the military epitaphs, an unnamed heir is often said to have been the person who performed the obligation of commemoration *ex testamento* (according to the will) (see Appendix, No. 6). However, in other cases friends and comrades are specifically named. Anicius Modestus, for example, was the heir of Lucius Fabius Fabius of *Legio IV Macedonica*, and he set up a memorial to him in Mainz.²⁸ Titus Silius Hospes, a *signifer* (standard-bearer) in the thirteenth urban cohort in Lyon and a friend (*amicus*) of the deceased, set up a stone to Sextius Cossutius Primus of the same unit.²⁹ Lucius Valerius Tertullus of *Legio XXII Primigenia*, who died in Mainz around AD 50, made a will specifying which heir should pay for having the stone made and which one was responsible for setting it up.³⁰ Occasionally a stone was set up by a friend 'at his own expense' (*a suo* or *de suo*), indicating that he was not bound by a will or the wish of the deceased to commemorate him, but was doing so out of a sense of friendship or honour.³¹ Iulius Vitalis, an armourer of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, was given a funeral by his colleagues in the Guild of Armourers in Bath, probably because this guild had formed a society to cover the costs of burying their members.³² In other cases, a brother, a son, or a cousin was the commemorator of a soldier.³³

²⁷ Cicero (*Laws* 2. 50–1) also discusses ways of getting out of the obligation.

²⁸ Selzer 1988: 6. It is curious that his *nomen* and *cognomen* are the same.

²⁹ *CIL* XIII. 1852.

³⁰ *CIL* XIII. 6979/Selzer 1988: 58.

³¹ *CIL* XIII. 6870/Selzer 1988: 14; *CIL* XIII. 8670/Krier 1981: 40.

³² *RIB* 156.

³³ *CIL* XIII. 6870/Selzer 1988: 14; *CIL* XIII. 6886/Selzer 1988: 22; *CIL* XIII. 6884/Selzer 1988: 19; Selzer 1988: 4.

Of these types of familial relationships amongst soldiers, the brother to brother dedication was the most frequent. This is in part a result of the tendency of soldiers to call their comrades *fratres* (brothers).³⁴ But there are genuine fraternal relationships expressed in military epitaphs, because it often happened that brothers signed up for the army together and were posted in the same place. Lucius Donius Albanus, for example, buried his brother, Gaius Donius Suavis, in Mainz, both of them having come from what is now Austria to serve in *Legio XIV Gemina*.³⁵ Gnaeus Musius received a stone from his brother, Marcus Musius, both of them originating from Veleia in northern Italy and both serving in the same legion in Mainz (Fig. 60).³⁶



Figure 60. Gravestone of Gnaeus Musius of *Legio XIV Gemina*, 1st century AD. The last line names his brother (fragments not shown) as dedicator. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

³⁴ *CIL* XIII. 6870/Selzer 1988: 14; *CIL* XIII. 6886/Selzer 1988: 22; *CIL* XIII. 6910/Selzer 1988: 23.

³⁵ *CIL* XIII. 6892/Selzer 1988: 29.

³⁶ *CIL* XIII. 6901/Selzer 1988: 30. See also the two brothers (Q. Sertorius Festus and L. Sertorius Firmus) from Verona who served in *Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*: *CIL* V. 3394; *CIL* V. 3375/*ILS* 2339; Keppie 2003: 46–8, figs. 15–17.

In Nijmegen, two Spanish brothers, Titus Aurelius Flavus and Marcus Aurelius Festus, served in *Legio X Gemina* and are named in the epitaph of their monument in the first century AD.³⁷ One of these brothers, Titus Aurelius Flavus, had a son 18 years of age named Aurelius Flavinus who is referred to in the epitaph as a *lixa*, a camp follower. Flavus had served for eighteen years, first in Spain and later on the lower Rhine, therefore his son must have been born in Spain and he probably accompanied his father when he was relocated. Aurelius Flavinus' unnamed mother also may have been a camp follower when she met Flavus and then had his child. If she had not been a Roman citizen, her son would not have had Roman citizenship either. At any rate, Flavinus would not have been officially recognized as Flavus' son, since soldiers were not allowed to contract a valid marriage during army service, and he could not be his father's legal heir. Instead, Flavus' heir is an anonymous individual, possibly an army comrade, who may or may not have passed on some of the estate to Flavinus. After Septimius Severus made it legal around AD 197 for serving soldiers to marry, wives and children appear far more prominently as commemorators or recipients of memorials. Not only were these unions now legitimate and heirship no longer an issue, the Roman army of the late Empire became more sedentary, its soldiers establishing permanent ties in the regions in which they served. Veterans had wives and children to bury them, but they also had sons on active duty who established families. Lucius Septimius Mucianus, a veteran of *Legio XXX*, for example, left behind a wife and son in Lyon in the mid-third century, the son, Lucius Septimius Peregrinus, actively serving in the same legion and being commemorated in turn by his wife and a cousin from another unit.³⁸

LEGAL MARRIAGE AND INFORMAL UNIONS

Amongst the husband and wife dedications, there are examples of married couples who remained married to each other for most of their adult life, as is presumably the case with a 70-year-old doctor who was married for fifty-one years.³⁹ Quintus Pompeius Sosus and his wife were married to each other for sixty years.⁴⁰ Claudia Olympias and Tiberius Claudius Epagathus in Portus were husband and wife for fifty-two years, and Placidia in Wroxeter was married for thirty years.⁴¹ The epitaph of Iulius Alexsander in Lyon informs the reader that he was married to his wife for forty-eight years, and with her

³⁷ *CIL* XIII. 8732.

³⁸ *CIL* XIII. 1891–2.

³⁹ *CIL* XI. 3943.

⁴⁰ *CIL* I. 1220.

⁴¹ Thylander 1952: A59; *RIB* 295.

he 'created three sons and a daughter, all of whom gave him grandchildren' (see Appendix, No. 13; Fig. 9).⁴² The inscription lists seven grandsons by name. At the opposite end of the scale is the marriage of the 18-year-old Marcus Octavius Nepos from Fréjus that was over before it really began. He died on his wedding day.⁴³ And we know of two brides, one in Aquileia in north-east Italy and one in Ortona on the east coast of Italy, who died on their respective wedding days.⁴⁴

Marriage between two slaves was not recognized by law, and such individuals did not enjoy the rights of legal Roman marriage (*ius conubii*), although, as many epitaphs indicate, this did not hinder 'informal' unions.⁴⁵ One such relationship lasting only one year, eight months, twenty-two days, and three hours is recorded in the epitaph of the slave Urbica who was commemorated in Portus in the early second century by her partner, an imperial slave named Olympus.⁴⁶ Urbica was only 14 years and 11 months old when she died. The official term for 'wife' (*coniunx*, later often *coniux*) is not and could not be used in the epitaph, rather Urbica is referred to as 'his' (*sua*). Once slaves were freed, they could, of course, rightfully marry. The fact that Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio finally could marry after their manumission is highlighted in their funerary inscription from the Via Nomentana in Rome (Fig. 61).⁴⁷ They had been a couple whilst they were slaves of the same owner, since Aurelia was 7 years old.

The *lex Aelia Sentia* of AD 4 set the age of 30 as the normal requirement for manumission with full Roman citizenship, although slaves could be freed before that without fully freed status. Such an advanced age will have had a significant effect on female fertility, since it left only a few years for the production of legitimate offspring. Full freedom below 30, however, was possible in certain cases, one of these being marriage to the owner. This law, therefore, encouraged slaves and provided them with incentives to conform to the ideals of Roman society in as much as marriage, childbearing, and family were essential to the Roman value system. Bradley has highlighted how tenuous slave marriages were, since slave couples, and the children they produced, could be separated at any time and sold separately by their masters.⁴⁸ Likewise, a slave husband or wife could be freed before their partner or their children were, so that the main part of a slave family might still be in bondage and vulnerable to sale or dislocation. One such couple of varying status was the freedwoman Pontulena Prepusa and her slave husband

⁴² *CIL* XIII. 2000/*ILS* 7648/Wierschowski 2001: no. 469.

⁴³ *CIL* XII. 221/Wierschowski 2001: no. 112a.

⁴⁴ *CIL* V. 1710; *CIL* IX. 6315.

⁴⁵ *CIL* VI. 22492/*ILS* 7987; *CIL* VI. 17430/*ILS* 8023; *CIL* VI. 17432.

⁴⁶ Thylander 1952: A261.

⁴⁷ *CIL* VI. 9499/Walker 1995: 100, fig. 75.

⁴⁸ Bradley 1987: 47–80.



Figure 61. Gravestone of the freed couple Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio from Rome, early 1st century BC. The British Museum

Delphicus, both of whom set up a memorial to their freeborn son Gaius Pontulenus Crenus in Rome.⁴⁹ The son was born after his mother's manumission, so that he had the good fortune of having free status from birth.

DEATH, DIVORCE, AND REMARRIAGE

It is difficult to know how many of the husbands or wives who commemorated their dead spouses remarried, unless the epitaph gives the name of the new partner, or if the names of new partners are preserved on other stones. Lucius Helvius Victorinus from Lyon, for example, set up different monuments in the second century to each of his two wives, Namenia Titulla and Romania Secundilla.⁵⁰ Fulvius Charisius in Rome tells us that he had three wives, whose passing he laments, and that he hopes his fourth wife will outlive him.⁵¹ Sextus Marcius Firmus in Rome names two wives in his own epitaph, Fufia and Roma.⁵² Verria Zosime buried one husband, Lucius Verrius Eucharistus, in Tomb 15, and another, Verrius Euhelpistus, in Tomb 29 in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus.⁵³ It is difficult to know which husband she married

⁴⁹ *CIL* VI. 24760/*ILS* 8180.

⁵⁰ *CIL* XIII. 2220/Wierschowski 2001: no. 445; *AE* 1975: 613/Wierschowski 2001: no. 445.

⁵¹ *CIL* VI. 18659/*ILS* 8145.

⁵² *CIL* VI. 22065. ⁵³ Thylander 1952: A273–5/Bloch 1944: 216–17.



Figure 62. Funerary epitaph of Lucius Mindius Dius and his three wives from Portus, early 2nd century. Text was erased to accommodate the name of his unforeseen third wife

first, and both inscriptions say that the tomb was for herself and her husband(s). An inscribed sarcophagus in Tomb 29, however, bears her name and that of Euhelpistus, so he was probably the second husband with whom she was actually buried. The freedman Publius Quinctius in Rome had a legitimate freedwoman wife, Quinctia, but when she died he lived in common-law marriage (*concubinatus*) with another freedwoman, Quinctia Agate.⁵⁴

One man who contracted multiple marriages, and who had all his wives buried with him, is Lucius Mindius Dius from Portus (Fig. 62).⁵⁵ His epitaph reads:

L(ucius) MINDIUS DIUS
FECIT SIBI ET GENUCIAE
TRYPHAENAE CONIUGI

⁵⁴ *CIL* I². 2527a. On unofficial ‘marriages’, see: Rawson 1974; Treggiari 1981a; Dixon 1992: 90–5.

⁵⁵ Thylander 1952: A182. The inscription originally was more intact than Fig. 62 suggests.

INCOMPARABILI CUM QUA
 VIXIT ANNIS XXIII MENS III
 ET LUCCEIAE IANUARIAE MA
RITAE ET ANNIAE LAVERIAE CONTUBERNA
LI SUAE SANCTISSIMAE
 ET LIBERT(is) LIBERTAB(us) SUIS POS(teris)Q(ue) EOR(um)
 H M E H N S
 IN FRONTE P XXX IN AGRO (P XX)XI

‘Lucius Mindius Dius had this made for himself and Genucia Tryphaena, his incomparable wife, with whom he lived for twenty-four years and three months, and for Luceia Ianuaria, his wife, and for Annia Laveria, his most virtuous companion, and for his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants. This tomb may not pass to an external heir. Thirty feet in front, thirty-one feet in depth.’ His first wife Genucia Tryphaena is referred to as *coniux*, his second wife Luceia Ianuaria is named as his *marita*, and his third ‘wife’ is referred to as *contubernalis*, indicating that the first two marriages were legal unions with women of free birth and the third was a marriage not recognized in Roman law. Annia Laveria may have been his own slave whom he had not yet freed before she died, since the term *contubernium* refers to the cohabitation of slaves or of couples, one of whom is a slave.⁵⁶ This last union appears not to have been foreseen when the stone was made, and there was another line of text after the naming of Luceia Ianuaria, possibly something like ‘*MARITAE BENE MERENT*’ (for his well-deserving wife) or ‘*MARITAE B M ET SIBI ET SUIS*’ (for his well-deserving wife and himself and theirs), which was then erased to make room for the name of Annia Laveria in smaller letters (here underlined). The two letters *MA* after the name of Luceia Ianuaria have been squeezed in at the end of line six to continue with the new text in line seven. In this way, the letter-cutter coped with including all three partners on one stone.

There are many other examples of funerary monuments which, directly or indirectly, enable marriage, remarriage, divorce, and widowhood to be recognized. For many women, widowhood meant a certain degree of isolation, unless they could find a new partner. For various reasons, finding a new partner was not always possible. Krause has argued that as many as 30 per cent of adult women were unmarried widows, in part because of the higher age of men who will have predeceased their wives.⁵⁷ Yet there are many examples of

⁵⁶ Other *contubernales*: *CIL* VI. 14241–4; *CIL* VI. 20839; *CIL* XII. 856, 3241, 3310, 3324, 3418, 3494, 4778; *CSIR* III, 2. 8 On *contubernales* in Rome, see Treggiari 1981*b*; Weaver 1986.

⁵⁷ Krause 1994/5: i. 73. On widows and widowers, see Treggiari 1991*b*: 498–501; McGinn 1999.

women who died before their husbands did, leaving them behind as widowers. Senecio, a magistrate in Lincoln, commissioned a gravestone with the portrait of a woman and a man, below which are two funerary epitaphs.⁵⁸ The epitaph on the left refers to Senecio's wife, Volusia Faustina, a citizen of Lincoln, who lived for twenty-six years, one month, and twenty-six days, but the epitaph on the right names not the husband, but another man, Claudius Catiotus, who lived for sixty(?) years. Perhaps Aurelius Senecio intended the stone for himself, but remarried and was buried elsewhere with his new partner. What relationship Claudius Catiotus had with Volusia Faustina or Senecio is unknown. A gravestone from Chester with the portrait of a man and a woman has two epitaph panels below the reliefs, but only one of them was actually used (Fig. 31).⁵⁹ The inscription on the left names Domitia Saturnina, who was 41, and presumably her husband was to be interred with her and named in the epitaph, but he may have remarried and was buried elsewhere. Valerius Phililogus commemorated his wife, Quitia Silvana, and her epitaph ends with 'I await my husband', but she might have waited a long time if he remarried and was laid to rest with a new wife.⁶⁰ The epitaph of a woman in the tomb of the Statillii in Rome suggests that the husband may have remarried or expected he would at some point, as it says that the woman was 'his first and dearest wife',⁶¹ Some husbands and wives may never have remarried, as is suggested by the epitaph of Scribonia Hedone from Pisa.⁶² Her husband wrote: 'I swore that after her I would not have another wife'.

It was not uncommon for remarriage to take place after the death of a spouse, nor is it uncommon, as we have seen above, for a succession of names of dead partners to be included in the epitaph. The erasure of the name of a spouse and the substitution of that name for a new one is also a good indication of remarriage, but it is more likely that this indicates divorce rather than death of one of the partners.⁶³ One such inscription in Narbonne illustrates this (Fig. 63):⁶⁴

V
C. LIVANIUS MAXIMI L. ACUTUS
SIBI ET CORNELIAE SEX. F.
MAXUMAE UXSOR(i)

Gaius Livanius Acutus had an epitaph made for himself and his wife. The original name of his wife was erased and the stone cut slightly deeper so the stonecutter could inscribe the name of the new one (here underlined),

⁵⁸ *RIB* 250.

⁵⁹ *RIB* 564.

⁶⁰ *CIL* XII. 5193.

⁶¹ *CIL* VI. 6593.

⁶² *CIL* XI. 1491/*ILS* 8461.

⁶³ On divorce see Treggiari 1991*b*: 435–82; Treggiari 1991*a*.

⁶⁴ *CIL* XII. 4949.



Figure 63. Gravestone of Gaius Livanius Acutus and his second wife Cornelia Maxuma whose name has been reinscribed over the name of an earlier wife. Narbonne, mid-1st century AD. Musée Lapidaire, Narbonne

Cornelia, daughter of Sextus, in slightly smaller letters. On the line below, her cognomen (Maxima) and her status as his wife was inscribed at the same time. Divorce, and its consequences for the commemoration of an individual, might also be seen on a funerary monument in Nîmes (Fig. 64).⁶⁵ On this altar are two registers of family portraits. The top register commemorates the couple Domitia... (name lost) and Gnaeus Cornelius Tanais. On the lower panel the son or brother of this man, Gnaeus Cornelius Urbanus, is depicted, together with another person whose face and inscribed name have been almost completely chiselled away. If this erased person was his wife, she must have fallen out of such favour with him that the memory of her was eradicated. As discussed in Chapter 4, divorce may have been behind the erasure of the name of the wife of Lucius Fabius Faustus in the epitaph of a tomb in Narbonne (Fig. 45).⁶⁶ At some point the name of the wife was erased, leaving only the word 'wife' (*coniugi*) intact. How bitter divorce and separation could be is illustrated well by a funerary inscription in Rome that a father composed for his daughter. It seems rather inappropriate to read in the epitaph that this man's wife (and mother of his now dead child) committed adultery and ran off with two of his slaves, for which she is cursed by him. He

⁶⁵ CIL XII. 3564.

⁶⁶ CIL XII. 4795.



Figure 64. Funerary altar of the first century AD from Nîmes with family portraits of Domitia ... (name lost) and Gnaeus Cornelius Tanais (above), and Gnaeus Cornelius Urbanus with another person (his wife?) whose face and inscribed name have been almost completely chiselled away. Musée archéologique, Nîmes

wishes that his errant ex-wife were nailed down and consumed by blazing pitch.⁶⁷

Children from different marriage partners are evident in the epitaphs on many monuments throughout the empire. Publius Vibius Verissius, for example, dedicated a memorial in Monferrato in northern Italy to his second wife, the 36-year-old Statilia Tigris. This epitaph says:

O too beautiful and always modest with your husbands, you lay in two marriage beds, where two children were born of love. If the first one could have beaten fate, he would have put up this inscription of praise. But I, unfortunate man who have now lost a woman like you, am doing it instead after enjoying sixteen years of your chaste love.⁶⁸

A marble slab on Tomb 55 in the Isola Sacra cemetery is inscribed with the name of Scantia Salvina and Marcus Sulpicius Fortunatus as commemorators of

⁶⁷ *CIL* VI. 20905.

⁶⁸ *CIL* V. 7453.

Scantia Salvina's daughter, Scantia Sabina.⁶⁹ The name of the family or *gens* (Scantii) indicates that Fortunatus was not the father of this child, so probably Scantia Salvina was married or had another partner before. He was, however, the father of Sulpicia Iulitta who was born out of his marriage with Scantia Salvina, and this daughter is commemorated by her maternal aunt with a plaque on another tomb (Tomb B).⁷⁰ Iulius Alexsander, originally from Carthage, had three sons specifically from his named wife of forty-eight years (see Appendix, No. 13; Fig. 9). These were Iulius Alexsius, Iulius Felix, and Iulius Gallonius. The names of the three sons are clearly derived from that of the father. However, a daughter is also named in the epitaph. She is Numonia Belliosa, named after her mother Numonia Bellia whose Celtic cognomen suggests she was of local origin. The name of this daughter suggests that she may not have been Iulius Alexsander's child, although the inscription says that she was indeed fathered by him. As Wierschowski suggests, Iulius Alexsander may have been a slave when she (his first child?) was born to him and his common-law wife, so that she, as a product of a union not recognized as a legal marriage, had to have the family name (Numonii) of her mother.⁷¹ The sons, if born after his manumission, would have been freeborn and legally entitled to take his family name.

GRIEF AND LOSS EXPRESSED IN EPITAPHS

Grief at the loss of a marriage partner is regularly expressed, although most often in rather standard and formulaic terms. Wives are said to be dear (*carissima*), chaste (*castissima*), and dutiful (*pientissima*), whilst husbands might be dear (*carissimus*) and incomparable (*incomparabilis*), these 'character descriptions' being particularly popular and florid in epitaphs of the third century. Iulia Severina from Vienne on the Rhône is excessively praised in the third century as the most respectable matron, the dearest wife, the most dutiful mother, and the sweetest parent (*matrona honestissima, coniux carissima, mater pientissima, parenta dulcissima*).⁷² Occasionally the lack of conflict within the marriage is mentioned. Iulius Primitius in Lyon lived with his wife, Felicia Minna, for the duration of their marriage 'without any complaint' (*sine ulla querella*), and Gaius Aonius Vitalis in Verona commemorated Atilia Maximina ('an innocent soul and incomparable wife') with whom he had lived for nineteen years, two months, and nine days 'without any quarrel' (*sine ulla controversia*).⁷³

⁶⁹ Thylander 1952: A219; Baldassare *et al.* 1996: 104–7; Nielsen 1996: 50–1.

⁷⁰ *CIL* XIV. 5107/Thylander 1952: A220.

⁷¹ *CIL* XIII. 2000/*ILS* 7648/Wierschowski 2001: no. 469. ⁷² *CIL* XII. 1972.

⁷³ *CIL* XIII. 1916; *CIL* V. 3496/*ILS* 8457. See also *CIL* VI. 12581; *CIL* VI. 14289.

Some women, in men's opinion, were deserving partners because of their industriousness and because they fulfilled the duties of a good Roman wife. Amymonē's husband in Rome praises her as a 'worker in wool, pious, chaste, thrifty, faithful, a stay-at-home' (*pia, pudica, frugi, casta, domiseda*), and the fact that Claudia 'kept the house and worked in wool' (*domum servavit, lanam fecit*) in the late second century BC in Rome is thought worth mentioning in her epitaph.⁷⁴ These were qualities and skills that young girls were expected to cultivate so that they would one day make good wives. Salvia, a little girl in Eporedia in northern Italy 'whose life was still in its springtime' and who died before being able to become someone's wife, is made to say that she 'took both housework and spinning seriously'.⁷⁵ Young girls who died before they could be married were often given a spindle and distaff as (unused) equipment symbolic of womanhood and marriage (see Chapter 6).⁷⁶ Allia Postestas was 'the first to rise and last to rest'.⁷⁷ Hermodorus Paragmius praised his wife Euphrosyne as 'good-natured, girlishly shapely, learned, opulent, dutiful, upright, modest, and virtuous' (*facilis, formosa puella, docta, opulenta, pia, casta, pudica, proba*).⁷⁸ One cannot be sure whether the most common references to the character and nature of the deceased are just stock phrases reflecting societal values, or whether the surviving partner felt true loss. But the sentiments expressed are hardly less formulaic than those expressed on modern gravestones, and we do not doubt the sincerity of these or the sense of loss friends and family feel at the death of those close to them.

There are many epitaphs, however, that genuinely express deep feelings of loss and pain. Pompeius Catussa from Lyon obviously missed his wife of five years in the third century AD, and addressed the reader: 'You who read this, go bathe in the baths of Apollo, as I used to do with my wife. I wish I still could.'⁷⁹ Gaius Maenius Cimber employed verses on his wife's epitaph in Rome that demanded either her return from the underworld or his own passing so that they 'need not suffer such a criminal separation any longer'.⁸⁰ Furia Spes and her departed husband Sempronius Firmus 'were bound by mutual love at first sight' to each other as boy and girl, and she asked the spirits to be kind to him and let her be with him 'tenderly and speedily'.⁸¹ As far as her husband Paternus was concerned, Urbana was his 'dearest, chastest, and rarest wife', and the epitaph goes on to say: 'She lived every day of her life with me with the greatest kindness and the greatest simplicity, both in her conjugal love and

⁷⁴ CIL VI. 11602/ILS 8402; CIL VI. 15346/ILS 8403.

⁷⁵ CIL I². 2161 = CIL V. 6808.

⁷⁶ Martin-Kilcher 2000: 64–73.

⁷⁷ CIL VI. 37965/Gordon 1983: 145–8/Friggeri 2001: 168–9.

⁷⁸ CIL VI. 9693.

⁷⁹ CIL XIII. 1983/ILS 8158.

⁸⁰ CIL VI. 7579/ILS 8190.

⁸¹ CIL VI. 18817/ILS 8006.

the industry typical of her character. I added this so that those who read may understand how much we loved one another.’⁸²

Grief over a child who predeceased the parents can be expressed in an even more heartfelt way, presumably due, in part, to the natural sense of loss of one’s own flesh and blood at an early age. Manson’s study on the image of the small child in Roman literature indicates that sentiments of parental love and family tenderness began to be expressed only from the mid-first century BC.⁸³ Thereafter, the child became a subject of funerary art, and expressions of love and affection for children figured in funerary inscriptions.⁸⁴ The epithet *dulcissimus* or *dulcissima*, sweetest, is chosen particularly often in the commemoration of young children to convey a warm and affectionate relationship.⁸⁵ Love and grief for the loss of an infant is immortalized in an epitaph of the second century to a child in Mainz:

Telesphoris and her husband, the parents, to their sweetest little daughter. One is compelled to lament (the passing of) the sweet girl. Oh, had you never been born, when you were to become so loved, and yet it was determined at your birth that you would shortly be taken from us, much to your parents’ pain. She lived half a year and eight days. The rose bloomed and soon wilted.⁸⁶

It is quite clear from the epitaph that in the short time these parents spent with their daughter deep bonds of love and affection were formed. The parents of Speratus who died in Rome at less than a year old appear to grieve infinitely, despite his very young age.⁸⁷ In the tenderest of terms, Faenomenus and Helpis in Rome mourned the loss of their 3-year-old daughter, ‘a sweet little talkative bird, a real chatterbox’.⁸⁸ And the fosterer of a young girl who died at the age of 9 expressed grief and longing for her when he had the following inscribed in her epitaph: ‘I shall always be searching for you, my darling Asiatica . . . I often imagine your face to comfort myself.’⁸⁹

But grief and the sense of loss also was felt in terms of the family’s investment in the child and the dashed hopes of improvement to the family’s situation through a child’s career or a profitable marital union. This is

⁸² *CIL* VI. 29580/*ILS* 8450. Aurelius Attianus from Gorsium in Hungary found the death of his young 25-year-old wife very unjust, and wrote ‘it would have been more fitting if she had buried her parents’ (rather than her parents witnessing her death and burial): *CIL* III. 3351/*RIU* 6: no. 1522.

⁸³ Manson 1983.

⁸⁴ See Rawson 1997*a*, Huskinson 1997, and Rawson 2003: 17–92 on children in Roman art.

⁸⁵ Nielsen 1997.

⁸⁶ *CIL* XIII. 7113/Selzer 1988: 127/*CSIR* II, 6. 88. See Fig. 57.

⁸⁷ *CIL* VI. 26680.

⁸⁸ *CIL* VI. 34421.

⁸⁹ *CIL* XI. 3771; Bellemore and Rawson 1990: 8.

particularly the case for the nobility, but probably far less so, if at all, for the average or working-class family. The writings of Quintilian, who lost both his sons aged 6 and 10, reveal genuine grief ('how can I forget the charm that was in his face, his pleasant voice, his little flashes of wit'), and, at the same time, despair at the waste of potential for the family's position in society. In his lament, he addresses his dead 10-year-old son, writing:

Your recent adoption by a man of consular rank had given you every right to be preferred to high office; a marriage had been arranged for you with your cousin, a praetor's daughter, everyone had the highest hopes for you; as a candidate, you would have shown the keenest oratorical sense. And now your father, the sole survivor, has nothing but pain to bear.⁹⁰

All possible arrangements had been made, including having the child adopted by a better situated family, only to be ruined by the death of the child.

Cassius Dio makes it clear that children were important as heirs: 'Is it not a blessing, when we leave this life, to leave behind as our successor an heir both to our family and to our property, one that is our own, born of our own essence, so that only the mortal part of us passes away, while we live on in the child who succeeds us?'⁹¹ The importance of producing children for future benefit and for posterity is made even clearer by Cicero: 'What do the procreation of children, the propagation of the name, the adoption of sons... mean, if not that we also think about the future?'⁹² The loss of a child and what this meant to the family's survival is again described by Cicero in his defence of Cluentius. He tells the story of a woman in Miletus who had caused herself to miscarry, and as a result of this 'she had taken away from the father his hopes, the projects of continuing the family name, the perpetuation of the clan, the heir of the household, and from the community, a prospective citizen.'⁹³

In her study on the meaning of epithets in the funerary inscriptions in the city of Rome (*CIL VI*), Nielsen concluded that a high proportion (54 per cent) of epitaphs using the epithet *pientissimus/piissimus* ('most devoted') refer to commemorated sons or daughters, most commonly teenagers up to 15 years, rather than to very young children. Children in their teens would have survived the greatest risk of infant mortality, and parents would have expected their children of this age to grow up and be able to care for them. Nielsen interprets the use of this particular epithet as an expression of frustrated hopes, of parents outliving their children and not being able to count on the

⁹⁰ *Institutes of Oratory* 6. 13.

⁹¹ *Roman History* 56. 3.

⁹² *Tusculan Disputations* 1. 31.

⁹³ *For Cluentius* 32.

pietas, the filial obligation or duty, of their children later in life.⁹⁴ But a surviving child was also important to ensure that the memory of the parents lived on through funerary commemoration. Flavius Agricola says in his epitaph in Rome that his son, Aurelius Primitivus, was left 'to tend my tomb with dutiful affection'.⁹⁵ The frustration and loss felt in the third century AD by an elderly couple in Sulmo at having been predeceased by their six children is clearly expressed in the inscription on their tomb. 'Abandoned by their children', this couple relied on their grandson to prove his sense of family duty and to 'maintain the family's funerary monument in good repair'.⁹⁶

Often in the epitaphs it is the parents who demand sympathy for their loss, rather than the parents expressing sympathy for the child who suffered and died young: 'Corellia Optata, aged thirteen. . . . Sire of an innocent daughter, I, a pitiable victim of unfair hope, bewail her final end. Quintus Corellius Fortis, her father, had this set up'.⁹⁷ It is the 'misery of the father' that is expressed in the epitaph dedicated to the 15-year-old Neombrotus in Portus.⁹⁸ It appears that the 14-year old Iulia Marulla in Puteoli is accused of having deceived her parents by dying and leaving them behind, and the parents of three children who died in Vienne call themselves 'disappointed by their children'.⁹⁹ Titus Truppicus and Papiria Tertia in Ferrara in north-east Italy refer to themselves as 'orphaned' and lonely in their old age without their children.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps Golden sums it up best when he says that there is an apparent contradiction in the way children were treated, written about in literature, and commemorated in epigraphy, and that 'we should assume that the ancients cared when their children died', even if there is often evidence that seems to give us another picture.¹⁰¹

This is not to say that many tombstones do not simply record the death of a child in rather matter-of-fact terms. But even then, the simple epitaphs or the formulaic passages probably do not reveal the true feelings of a parent, any more than the stock phrases on modern tombstones do.¹⁰² Although Roman

⁹⁴ Nielsen 1997: 197–8. Frustration led to such texts as that commemorating a child who died at the age of 2 and who is reproached for not being able to care for his grandmother in her old age: *CIL* VI. 18086. See also Golden 1988: 153: 'children would be a prudent investment in order to provide security in societies which knew no pension plans'. On sometimes turbulent relationships between parents and their children who failed to look after them, see Parkin 1997.

⁹⁵ *CIL* VI. 17985a.

⁹⁶ *AE* 1989: 247; Bodel 2001: 15.

⁹⁷ *RIB* 684.

⁹⁸ *CIL* XIV. 1022/Thylander 1952: B65.

⁹⁹ *CIL* X. 2601; *CIL* XII. 2033.

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* V. 2435.

¹⁰¹ Golden 1988: 160. See also Dixon 1992: 98–108, on contradictory attitudes towards children.

¹⁰² King 2000: 135–6.

society did not expect parents to commemorate very young infants, the fact that many parents did can be interpreted as an expression of genuine loss and grief. The father of the nine-day-old Vernaculus in Cologne surely acted out of love and grief, rather than a sense of societal obligation, when he commemorated his tiny son (Fig. 58).¹⁰³ Even if the 3-year-old Vacia from Carlisle was remembered with a very brief epitaph ('Vacia, an infant, aged three'), the fact that she was commemorated at all with a gravestone indicates that she was a child who was loved and whose passing was mourned.¹⁰⁴ And even if the gravestone chosen for her was one from stock with the depiction of a girl older than 3 years of age, her commemorator(s) went to the expense of buying it and having a personalized epitaph carved with her name and age details. King has shown that most of the epitaphs commemorating a child under one year of age in the city of Rome place the child's name first, rather than the dedicator's, indicating that dedicators were likely to 'forgo the public advertisement of their own prominence'.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the greatest number of individuals to be commemorated on their own as *individuals*, without being lumped together in a group dedication, are infants under one. Thus, the evidence suggests that children, and very young children, were neither regarded as socially worthless nor were they unloved or their passing unmourned.

In regard to literary and epigraphic expressions of sorrow, two separate sources relating to the death of the same young girl give us a very different perspective on grief that is to be seen in the context of cultural customs. According to Pliny the Younger, Fundanus was heartbroken over the death of his young daughter, Minicia Marcella, who was engaged to be married:

I cannot find the words to describe my grief when I heard Fundanus himself ordering that the money that had been delegated to clothes, pearls, and gems for the wedding be spent on incense, ointments, and spices for the funeral. He is indeed a wise and scholarly man, having dedicated himself since he was young to the nobler subjects and arts; but now he rejects all he used to hear and often said, and his devotion has supplanted every other virtue.¹⁰⁶

Yet the epitaph of Minicia Marcella on her funerary altar within the family tomb in Rome is rather blunt: 'To the spirits of the dead and to Minicia Marcella, daughter of Fundanus. She lived twelve years, eleven months, seven days' (Fig. 65).¹⁰⁷ Pliny described the emotional and mental state of a man deeply distressed at the loss of his daughter; the epitaph, with its formulaic public message, gives no insight into the family's grief.

¹⁰³ CIL XIII. 28044/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 373/Faust 1998: cat. no. 110.

¹⁰⁴ RIB 961. ¹⁰⁵ King 2000: 140. ¹⁰⁶ Letters 5. 16. 7–8.

¹⁰⁷ CIL VI. 16631.



Figure 65. Marble funerary altar of the young Minicia Marcella in Rome, late 1st century AD. Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano

ADULTS INVOLVED IN RAISING CHILDREN

The birth parents often were not the only individuals who were involved in raising children. Children also were adopted for various reasons. One is reminded of Quintilian's son whom he gave to a man of consular rank (see above). The mixing of senatorial and equestrian families to produce new heirs and to secure their survival by adoption is well known from literary and historical sources.¹⁰⁸ Children could also be taken on as foster children. These are the individuals named in epitaphs as *alumni/alumnae*. One such *alumnus* was the 18-year-old Vireius Vitalis in Lyon who had been adopted as a son by a man called Valerius Maximus.¹⁰⁹ The epitaph says that Maximus, a glass

¹⁰⁸ On adoption in Roman law, see Gardner 1998: 114–208. Corbier 1991 discusses adoption as a family strategy.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* XIII. 2036/*ILS* 7723. Other *alumnae*: *CIL* VI. 12402, 12463, 12641; *CIL* XII. 3706, 533, 538, 725, 822; *CIL* XIII. 2107.

manufacturer, had 'educated the boy in his art' and 'placed in him hopes for the future'. Treggiari and Rawson include in the category of *alumni* abandoned children who became the property of those who brought them up, orphans, illegitimate children who had been sold by their real parents, and captives and victims of kidnapping and piracy.¹¹⁰ The epitaph of a Parthian man from beyond the empire's eastern frontier who died in Ravenna in the first century AD remarkably documents just such an act that robbed him of his freedom, and it relays his sorry tale of having been 'captured when a youth and sold into slavery in Roman territory'.¹¹¹ Nielsen sees the term *alumnus* as one more broadly denoting a form of adoption that could have taken place for a variety of reasons. These might include the adoption of a child by a wetnurse, or the adoption by a marriage partner other than the biological mother or father should she or he die, or the manumission and adoption of a slave child.¹¹² The kind of formal adoption for political and financial reasons attested in the aristocratic families of Rome was probably very rare in the middle and lower classes who were not concerned with the political survival of the family and the family's name. Indeed, Rawson suggests that the result or purpose of the foster relationship was the learning of a trade, a suggestion borne out at least in the case of the above-mentioned Vireius Vitalis in Rome.¹¹³

Affection is expressed in many epitaphs to an *alumnus* or *alumna*. The 'parent' of Hyllus, who died in York, referred to his *alumnus* as 'beloved (*carrissimus*), and Aurelius Crescens and his wife Iulia Manteiane in Portus referred to their 18-year-old 'boy by the name of Athenio' as their 'dearest foster-child'.¹¹⁴ Although 'beloved' or 'dearest' might be stock phrases in funerary epitaphs, they are hardly different from those used for children commemorated by blood relatives, although Nielsen demonstrated that the epithet *carissimus* was used more frequently in Rome for foster children than for birth children. For the latter *dulcissimus* is more common, possibly implying some sort of inferior status for the foster children.¹¹⁵ In many cases couples almost certainly raised their *alumni* not only as they would their own children, but also sometimes together with their own children.¹¹⁶ These ties could last a lifetime. Iunia Valeria from Arles felt enough affection

¹¹⁰ Treggiari 1969: 2; Rawson 1986a: 173–86; Bellemore and Rawson 1990; Rawson 2003: 251–4.

¹¹¹ *CIL* XI. 137/*ILS* 1980.

¹¹² *CIL* VI. 24000, *CIL* VI. 24035, *CIL* VI. 23289; Nielsen 1997: 162–4.

¹¹³ Rawson 1986a: 196.

¹¹⁴ *RIB* 681; Thylander 1952: A31.

¹¹⁵ Nielsen 1997: 190.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* VI. 8710.

and pride in her 'dearest foster child' to commemorate him even after he had reached adulthood and become a successful transport contractor.¹¹⁷ The 28-year-old Ostoria Satria Eubulis in Rome was an *alumna*, and she was given a funerary memorial not only by her own daughter, but also by her fosterer with whom she still had ties as an adult.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, in other cases, some of these children clearly were raised as the property of the 'adopter'. This is illustrated, for example, by an epitaph of the early second century in Lyon in which a Treveran boy named Terminalis, an *alumnus*, was commemorated by his owner (*dominus*).¹¹⁹

Children were often raised by stepfathers and stepmothers, such children being referred to as *filiaster/filiastra* or *privignus/privigna*.¹²⁰ Alia Urbica dedicated a memorial to her 10-year-old stepson (*filiaster*), Marcus Octavius Aeriis, in Portus, the boy presumably being the son of her husband, but not with her.¹²¹ Gaius Iulius Maximus set up a memorial to his stepson, Marcus Aurelius Faustinus, in Lyon.¹²² In this inscription, Maximus' wife, Aurelia Faustina, is named as co-commemorator of her only son. It has been suggested that the marriage out of which this child was born was a common-law one (*concubinatus*), but the boy could just as easily be the child of Aurelia's first marriage to a man named Aurelius.¹²³ Marcus Vibennius Donatus, a freedman, had an inscription made to commemorate himself, his wife Caninia Pia, their legitimate children Vibennius Maximus and Vibennia Quartula, and his stepdaughter (*privigna*) Caninia Pia whom Donatus raised.¹²⁴ Since the stepdaughter has the family name of the mother, she could be illegitimate, or she also could be the legitimate child of a man who was previously married to her mother and who had the same family name.

Various slave owners set up memorials to children born to slave parents in the house of the master. Scribonius Priscianus and Sulpicia Stratonice buried Donata, an 8-year-old slave girl born in their house (*verna*), and they refer to her as 'sweetest and most deserving' (*dulcissima et bene merente*), confirming that emotional ties could exist between slaves and their owners.¹²⁵ Since Donata was born in the house of her owners, her mother was probably employed there as well, but may not have been in a position to commemorate her own child. The same pertains to the 6-year-old slave Sabina who was born in the house of her owner, Aelia Salviane, and was buried by her, not her birth mother.¹²⁶ Presumably the slaves Hedyepes and Genesia, the parents of the

¹¹⁷ *CIL* XII. 733. ¹¹⁸ *CIL* VI. 23605. ¹¹⁹ *CIL* XIII. 2032/Krier 1981: 16.

¹²⁰ Watson 1989: 548. ¹²¹ Thylander 1952: A10.

¹²² *CIL* XIII. 2073/*ILS* 8141. ¹²³ Watson 1989: 537, 540–1.

¹²⁴ Thylander 1952: A277.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* A221. On *vernae*, see Rawson 1986a: 186–95; Rawson 2003: 255–9.

¹²⁶ Thylander 1952: A214.

young slave Hipponicus, lived in Mainz as a family with Dignilla, the wife of a legionary legate and owner of Hipponicus.¹²⁷ Slaves who wanted a memorial to their children had to seek permission from the master to perform this act. The epitaph of Alimma, a slave aged 31, states explicitly that her father and co-slave (*pater et conservus*) buried her in Locri in southern Italy with permission of the master.¹²⁸ Slave children born in the house of an owner could, of course, be the illegitimate children of the owner. One wonders, for example, whether the slave girl Steia Fortuna, slave of Publius Steius Felix born in his house in Portus, was not, in reality, his own illegitimate daughter, since she inherited one-sixth of his estate.¹²⁹ A child who lived in the household, especially one of servile status, might be called a 'delight' or a 'pet' (*delicium*), and be raised by the family with genuine affection, even if the child was not adopted or did not stand to inherit anything.¹³⁰

A nurse (*nutrix*) lived in the household with the children in her charge, and she could continue to be an important figure throughout the life of those she raised.¹³¹ Nurses, along with slaves, footmen, and teachers, are mentioned by Quintilian in the upbringing of his children, and the figure of the old nurse or nanny who remained with the child into adulthood is a familiar figure in Roman literature.¹³² Such a family nurse, by the name of Severina, set up a gravestone to a child she had raised (his name does not survive) in Cologne in the third century (Fig. 66).¹³³ Another nurse by the name of Titia Epictesis commemorated her young charge, Lucius Sennius Hermogenes, who lived to be 22 years old in Nîmes.¹³⁴ We also know of a *nutrix* by the name of Iulia Iucunda who raised the imperial children Drusus, Germanicus, and Drusilla in Rome.¹³⁵ The far grander sounding title of *educatrix* (educator) was given to the freedwoman Pompeia Gemella who, in her epitaph in Avenches, is said to have been the 'educator of our emperor', possibly of the young Titus.¹³⁶ The male nurse (*nutritor* or *papas*) and the teacher trained in literature and

¹²⁷ CIL XIII. 6806/Selzer 1988: 133/CSIR II, 6. 87.

¹²⁸ CIL X. 261/ILS 8438.

¹²⁹ CIL XIV. 1641/Thylander 1952: B153.

¹³⁰ CIL XIV. 899/Thylander 1952: B54. On *delicia*, see Nielsen 1990.

¹³¹ Bradley 1986; Bradley 1991a: 13–36.

¹³² Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory* 1. 1. 7, 6. 1. 8; Horace, *Epistles* 5. 230. Two of the pivotal characters in Seneca's *Octavia* are the nurses of the adult Octavia and Poppaea.

¹³³ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 331/Faust 1998: cat. no. 114, pl. 9. For the carving of Severina rocking a child in swaddling clothes to sleep (the other side of the monument), see Carroll 2001: 59, pl. 7.

¹³⁴ CIL XII. 3899.

¹³⁵ CIL VI. 5201/ILS 1837.

¹³⁶ CIL XIII. 5138/Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 3. See also CIL VI. 1478 for another *educatrix* who was, at the same time, the grandmother of the commemorator.



Figure 66. Gravestone of Severina, a nurse (*nutrix*), breast-feeding her young charge in Cologne, 3rd century AD. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

rhetoric (*paedagogus*) also sometimes lived with the family, and they are attested in upper class, and especially imperial, households.¹³⁷ A male child-minder could also be referred to as an *educator*, a term often interchangeable with *nutritor* or *paedagogus*. In any case, such individuals often continued to serve as a teacher, tutor, and chaperone well beyond the childhood of those for whom they were responsible.

But there are other men and women in the extended Roman *familia* who appear in funerary epitaphs and who often had close links with children. An inscription commemorating the 3-year-old Silvia in Rome, for example, names her birth parents as well as her *tata* (daddy) and *mamma* (mommy)

¹³⁷ *CIL* V. 7059/*ILS* 8545; *CIL* VI. 8425/*ILS* 1478; *CIL* VI. 8989/*ILS* 1827; *CIL* VI. 8969/*ILS* 1829; *CIL* VI. 8973/*ILS* 1830; *CIL* VI. 8970/*ILS* 1831; *CIL* VI. 8983/*ILS* 1832; *CIL* VI. 8976/*ILS* 1833; *CIL* XII. 3832; *ILS* 1828. On men involved in raising children, see Bradley 1985; Bradley 1991a: 37–75; Saller 1997: 18–33; Rawson 2003: 165–83.

as dedicators.¹³⁸ The 50-year-old Orana Hilara was remembered with an inscription commissioned by her husband and by another man who referred to Orana Hilara as his ‘most indulgent mommy’ (*mamma indulgentissima*).¹³⁹ Bradley suggested that the rather affectionate terms *tata* and *mamma* used in funerary inscriptions might in fact refer to the male and female nurses and child-minders or other unrelated adults in the household who raised them, although Dixon was sceptical that definite roles could be assigned to these terms.¹⁴⁰ Sometimes such adults took on more than one role. Aufidia Favor’s *mamma* and *tata* were, at the same time, her patroness and her husband.¹⁴¹ Flavia Euphrosyne was both *mamma* and *nutrix* to the 7-year-old Publius Flavius Crescens.¹⁴² Clearly, a variety of household members, whose spheres of activity constantly intersected, could be involved collectively in raising children, and these bonds are expressed in the epitaphs of tombs in which they might be buried together.

Thus far we have looked primarily at dedications from parents (or adults) to children, but there are ample numbers of memorials set up by children to parents. Many of them are fairly standard and straightforward: ‘Lucius Aemilius Donatus and Aemilia Maria had this made for Lucius Aemilius Donatus, their most devoted father’.¹⁴³ A sense of duty or devotion in commemorating parents is very common. Any expression of recognizable grief or emotion at the passing of a parent is rare, but there are instances of epitaphs expressing gratitude. In the funerary *laudatio* for Murdia, inscribed in stone in Rome in the Augustan period, the son of the first marriage of this woman praises her for characteristics such as modesty, chastity, conscientiousness, trustworthiness, and wisdom, but in two lines of the text he also expresses gratitude that all of her children, including those of her second marriage, were equally provided for in her will.¹⁴⁴ Although it is not clear exactly how Iunia Primitiva was related to Sextilia Maxima and Annus Maximus in Portus—the words *cognata* and *cognatus* (‘related by birth’ or ‘blood relative’) are used for the couple—they may well have raised her, leading her to compose an epitaph stating that Annus Maximus was an ‘excellent man to whom I will be grateful as long as I live’.¹⁴⁵ Gratitude is expressed by Sextus Masuinnius Verinus who dedicated a monument in Vienne to his deceased guardian (*tutor*), Sextus Iulius Senior, who ‘for fourteen years supported me and guided me at every opportunity, like a parent’.¹⁴⁶ Although tutors were sometimes the paternal

¹³⁸ CIL VI. 36353/ILS 8548. The birth-parents, as well as a *mamma*, and a *nutrix* commemorated the 3-year-old Gnaeus Arrius Agapetus in Rome: CIL VI. 12366.

¹³⁹ CIL VI. 23556/ILS 8550.

¹⁴⁰ Bradley 1991a: 76–102; Dixon 1992: 155.

¹⁴¹ CIL VI. 12840.

¹⁴² CIL VI. 18032.

¹⁴³ Thylander 1952: A9.

¹⁴⁴ CIL VI. 10230/ILS 8394.

¹⁴⁵ Thylander 1952: A163.

¹⁴⁶ CIL XII. 2346.

uncle (*patruus*), the difference in gentile name here suggests that Seniorus may just have been a friend of Verinus' father.

The contents of the epitaphs demonstrate that the larger 'family' unit included mother, father, and children, but also more distant relatives, slaves, freedmen, and freedwomen who still were dependent in some ways on the former patron. For slaves, in particular, who legally had neither mother nor father, the household within which they lived became a substitute family of sorts.¹⁴⁷ Emotional ties and family bonds are well expressed in a funerary inscription from the Via Appia outside Rome set up by Aulus Memmius Urbanus to commemorate his fellow freedman Aulus Memmius Clarus:

That between you and me, my most sainted fellow freedman, there never was a quarrel, I am certain. And in this inscription I call the heavenly and infernal gods as witnesses that we were sold into slavery together, that we were freed together from the same household, and that no day could have separated us, apart from this fateful one.¹⁴⁸

For Pliny the Younger 'the house provides a slave with a country and a sort of citizenship'.¹⁴⁹ After all, slaves, once freed, took on the family name of their owner, and thereby assumed an identity related to the owner (see Chapter 9). That freed slaves might even be thought of as 'children' is illustrated in the text of an epitaph from Margum (modern Orašje) in the Danube province of Moesia Superior. In this epitaph, Lucius Valerius Seranus, a legionary veteran, says: 'A husband I was not, but I freed slaves'; in other words, he left 'children' behind. These freed slaves, ten in all, were his heirs, and they set up the monument to their patron whose name they all took as their own.¹⁵⁰

The patroness Considia Donata specifically allowed access to her tomb in Portus to her freedmen and freedwomen 'who bear my name' (*ex nomine meo*).¹⁵¹ Other inscriptions frequently extend the right to burial of freedmen, freedwomen, and future generations of their children, without specifying them by name. The context of such epitaphs underline the fact that the close ties of the *familia* and various household members continued in death.

¹⁴⁷ Martial, *Epigrams* 11. 12. 1–2.

¹⁴⁸ *CIL* VI. 22355a/*ILS* 8432. Emotional bonds formed by slaves, particularly by those who were sold, worked, or were freed together, are discussed by Flory 1978.

¹⁴⁹ *Letters* 8. 16.

¹⁵⁰ *CIL* III. 1653/Suppl. *CIL* III. 8143.

¹⁵¹ *CIL* XIV. 864/Thylander 1952: B51.

Mapping Population Movement

To Ruphus, a Greek from Mylasa, a flute player, who lived sixteen years. Dionysius Asclepiades, his father, born in Alexandria and a citizen of Athens, had this monument made at his own expense for his deserving son.

(Funerary epitaph from Cologne, third century AD: *CIL* XIII. 8343/*ILS* 9344/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 303)

PHYSICAL MOBILITY IN WESTERN EUROPE

Information on the origins of those who died was included in many epitaphs, and this can be used, albeit imperfectly, to study physical mobility in the Roman empire. These details might reveal the voting district in which the person was registered, the city or province of origin, or, in the case of non-citizens, the ethnic origin and tribal affiliation of the deceased. A legionary soldier, for example, from Calagurris in northern Spain might end up being posted in Nijmegen on the German frontier, giving us insight into the movement of someone who chose to pursue a military career.¹ A merchant from Syria might follow his business interests and end up residing in Gaul on the Saône river, dealing in goods from Lyon and Aquitania.² A freedman merchant from Tarragona in north-eastern Spain might emigrate and end up as the landlord of a tavern called ‘The Gallic Cock’ in first-century Narbonne.³ A particularly explicit epitaph in Rome says that the deceased was born in the region of Picenum to the east of the Apennines in central Italy (*nata Piceno*), grew up in Rome (*nutrita Romae*), and died in Palestrina south-east of Rome (*mortua Praeneste*).⁴ Funerary inscriptions containing revelations of the places of birth and death can be quite melancholic, as if there was a great deal of regret at not being buried in the region or land of origin. These include the epitaph of a man from the Danube region who died in Rome: ‘Pannonian

¹ *CIL* XIII. 8732.

² *CIL* XII. 2448/*ILS* 7529.

³ *CIL* XII. 4377/Wierschowski 2001: no. 270.

⁴ *CIL* VI. 21695.

earth gave birth to me, Italian soil is my grave'; the epitaph of a man from Asia Minor (modern Turkey) who died in Delminium in Dalmatia: 'born in Conana, buried in Illyrica'; and the inscription of a man from southern Spain who was buried in Caesarea in North Africa: 'Baetica gave birth to me, the Lybian earth has me now'.⁵ In Chapter 6 we have looked at the lengths to which some people went to return the remains of their loved ones to their homeland.

This is not to say that funerary inscriptions everywhere and at all times are this informative. Even though many epitaphs of the first and second centuries AD include details on the origin of the deceased, many of them omit this information. Furthermore, by the third century, it had become far less common to include origin data in the epitaphs. An additional problem is that the surviving epitaphs do not even begin to represent the number of inhabitants who once lived in and moved around Roman Europe. Nevertheless, general trends may be observed in the voluntary relocation or involuntary deployment of individuals in Europe at certain times.

In this section, four locations in the Roman western provinces will be examined: two at which large numbers of army personnel were stationed, and two civilian settlements that attracted individuals from other parts of the empire. The military sites are Mainz on the German frontier and Chester in Britain, the former a site of intense army activity in the first three-quarters of the first century AD, the latter a military base with a large garrison from the late first to the third century. Both are well represented in the epigraphic record. The civilian sites are Lyon and Cologne. Lyon was an Augustan colony and the provincial capital of Gallia Lugdunensis. It offered newcomers good economic prospects due to its position at the confluence of the Saône and Rhône rivers. Only in the second and third centuries is a considerable community of soldiers from the *Cohors XIII Urbana* and the four Rhenish legions in Xanten, Bonn, Mainz, and Strasbourg attested. Cologne, an Augustan *civitas* capital of the Ubii that became a colony in AD 50 and civilian capital of Germania Inferior in 85, lay on the Rhine frontier, and was far more exposed to the influence of the army stationed near it at various locations since the early first century. The information given in the funerary epitaphs of Mainz, Chester, Lyon, and Cologne has been compiled to enable us to determine who was present at these sites and where they came from. Only those epitaphs which specifically state the origin of the deceased have been considered.

⁵ *CIL* VI. 32808; *CIL* III. 9733; *CIL* VIII. 21031. The sense of belonging to a place in which one did not die pertains not just to different countries but also to different towns. Thus, the soldier Gaius Manlius Valerianus can mourn the fact that 'Sarsina gave birth to him, now Aquileia holds him fast', although both towns are in north-east Italy: *CIL* V. 923.

ORIGINS OF LEGIONARY TROOPS IN MAINZ

Roman occupation at the confluence of the Rhine and Main rivers began on the west bank of the Rhine about 13 BC when a double legionary camp was established as a base for the Roman campaigns east of the river into Germany.⁶ From this time, until AD 43, *Legio XIV Gemina* and *XVI Gallica* were stationed in *Mogontiacum*/Mainz. *Legio II Augusta* and *XIII Gemina* spent the years AD 9–17 in Mainz, and *Legio XV Primigenia*, *IV Macedonica*, and *XXII Primigenia* strengthened the garrison after AD 39, the latter two legions probably remaining there until 70. To the south-west of the legionary fort, a civilian settlement grew up that became the provincial capital of Germania Superior. In the first half of the first century AD, other civilian settlements developed outside the auxiliary base at Mainz-Weisenau and in the harbour area along the Rhine. The gravestones discussed here (Table 1) were found in various areas around the legionary base.

It is apparent that the men garrisoning Mainz up to AD 70 came predominantly from Italy and Gallia Narbonensis. The great majority of inscriptions name the voting district and the place, although a few name only the voting district. Since the same voting district could be in a variety of places, it is difficult to tell exactly which town (or even province) the person came from. Nevertheless, we can assume that *Voltinia* refers to southern Gaul, and that *Fabia* and *Sabatina* refer to Italy. If we break down the origins of the men from the four legions best represented in the inscriptions, the picture in Table 2 emerges.

The two earliest legions, *Legio XIV Gemina* and *XVI Gallica*, recruited men from places such as *Polentia*, *Cremona*, *Verona*, *Placentia*, *Brixia*, *Mutina*, *Veleia*, *Aquae Statiellae*, *Augusta Taurinorum*, *Mediolanum*, *Eporedia*, *Luna*, *Luca*, *Pistoriae*, *Hasta*, and *Patavium* in northern Italy, *Hispellum* and *Histonium* in central Italy, and *Venafrum* in southern Italy, as well as from *Lugdunum*, *Reii*, *Tolosa*, *Cabellio*, and *Vienna* in central and southern Gaul. In the early first century AD, the two attested men from *Legio II Augusta* and *XIII Gemina* came from *Carcaso* in Gallia Narbonensis and *Forum Fulvii* in Liguria in north-west Italy. *Legio XV* recruited primarily from northern Italy (*Mediolanum*, *Eporedia*). *Legio IV Macedonica* swelled its ranks with men chiefly from southern and central Gaul (*Tolosa*, *Narbo*, *Baeterrae*, *Vienna*, and *Lugdunum*), but also from northern and central Italy (*Ticinum*, *Forum Iulii*, *Augusta Taurinorum*, and *Corfinium*), Spain (*Nertobriga*, *Tucci*), and Austria (*Virunum*, *Iuvavum*). The men in *Legio XXII Primigenia* came mainly

⁶ Selzer 1988: 30–77; Cüppers 1990: 458–70; Carroll 2001: 41–4, 50–3, fig. 16.

Table 1. Military personnel in the legions at Mainz up to AD 69/70 (*CIL* = *CIL* XIII; *CSIR* = *CSIR* II, 5)

Name	Legion	Tribus	Origin	Reference
Lucius Antonius Senilicus	XIV Gemina	Voltinia		Selzer 20
Quintus Lollius	XIV Gemina	Voltinia		<i>CIL</i> 6897
Quintus Octavius	XIV Gemina	Voltinia	Tolosa	<i>CIL</i> 6904
Fiertius	XIV Gemina	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6909
Quintus Vettius	XIV Gemina	Voltinia	Reii	<i>CIL</i> 6913
Lucius Statius	XIV Gemina	Pollia	Polentia	<i>CIL</i> 6908
Publius Flavioleius	XIV Gemina	Pollia	Mutina	<i>CIL</i> 7255
Titus Quintius	XIV Gemina	Pollia	Varia	<i>CIL</i> 6906
Gaius Cornelius	XIV Gemina	Pollia	Hasta	<i>CIL</i> 6890
... Virius	XIV Gemina	Pollia	Eporedia	<i>CIL</i> 6914
Gaius Allius	XIV Gemina	Aniensis	Cremona	<i>CIL</i> 6856
Quintus Gavius	XIV Gemina	Aniensis	Histonium	<i>CIL</i> 6893
Quintus Clodius	XIV Gemina	Aniensis	Vercellae	<i>CIL</i> 6889
Marcus Valerius	XIV Gemina	Publilia	Verona	<i>CIL</i> 6910
Primus Aebutius	XIV Gemina	Voturia	Placentia	<i>CIL</i> 6885
Marcus Servilius Seneca	XIV Gemina	Fabia	Brixia	<i>CIL</i> 6907
Gaius Tallius Priscus	XIV Gemina	Fabia		<i>CSIR</i> 117
Gaius Saufeius	XIV Gemina	Fabia	Patavium	<i>CSIR</i> 131
Gnaeus Musius	XIV Gemina	Galeria	Veleia	<i>CIL</i> 6901
Lucius Naevius	XIV Gemina	Stellatina	Aug. Taurinorum	<i>CIL</i> 6902
Marcus Braetius	XIV Gemina	Stellatina	Aug. Taurinorum	<i>CIL</i> 6887
Secundus Metilius	XIV Gemina	Stellatina	Aug. Taurinorum	<i>CIL</i> 6899
Secundus Mettius	XIV Gemina	Stellatina	Forum Vibii	<i>CIL</i> 7288
Marcus Cassius	XIV Gemina	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CSIR</i> 55
Gaius Cassius	XIV Gemina	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CSIR</i> 55
Sextus Naevius	XIV Gemina	Tromentina	Aquae Statiellae	<i>CIL</i> 6903
Marcus Petronius	XIV Gemina	Claudia	Acelum	<i>CIL</i> 7236
Rufus Valerius	XIV Gemina	Sergia		
Gaius Donatius Suavis	XIV Gemina	Claudia	Virunum	<i>CIL</i> 6892
Titus Pompeius	XVI Gallica	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6944
Gaius Iulius Andicus	XVI Gallica	Voltinia		<i>CIL</i> 6940
Gaius Satrius	XVI Gallica	Voltinia	Cabellio	<i>CIL</i> 6945
Gaius Iulius Optatus	XVI Gallica	Galeria	Lugdunum	<i>CIL</i> 6941
Lucius Novellius	XVI Gallica	Pollia	Hispellum	<i>CIL</i> 6943
Tertius Exsomnus	XVI Gallica	Aniensis	Vercellae	<i>CIL</i> 6939
Titus Viccius	XVI Gallica	Voturia	Placentia	<i>CIL</i> 6946
Lucius Antestius	XVI Gallica	Voturia	Placentia	<i>CIL</i> 6936
Titus Valerius	XVI Gallica	Galeria	Luna	<i>SH</i> 63
Titus Valerius	XVI Gallica	Galeria	Luca	<i>CSIR</i> 135
Lucius Cassius	XVI Gallica	Oufentina		<i>CIL</i> 6937
Gaius Pompeius	XVI Gallica	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CIL</i> 11858
Lucius Refidius Bassus	XVI Gallica	Teretina	Venafrum	<i>CIL</i> 11836
Sextius Lartidius	XVI Gallica	Velina	Pistoriae	<i>CIL</i> 6942
Gaius Iulius Niger	II Augusta	Voltinia	Carcaso	<i>CIL</i> 7212
Publius Urvinus	XIII Gemina	Pollia	Forum Fulvii	<i>CIL</i> 6884
Lucius Cornelius Colinus	XV Primigenia	Pollia	Eporedia	<i>CIL</i> 11854

Lucius Varius Sacco	XV Primigenia	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CIL</i> 11855
Gaius Cassius Geminus	XV Primigenia	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CIL</i> 11853
Gaius Iulius Priscus	IV Macedonica	Voltinia	Tolosa	<i>CIL</i> 6867
Gaius Coelius Passus	IV Macedonica	Voltinia	Tolosa	<i>CSIR</i> 123
Gaius Helvius Sabinus	IV Macedonica	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>SH</i> 64
M. Petronius Mansuetus	IV Macedonica	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6871
Marcus Sillius Campanus	IV Macedonica	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6872
Sextus Valerius Masuetus	IV Macedonica	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6873
Lucius Vinicius Modestus	IV Macedonica	Galleria	Lugdunum	<i>CIL</i> 6876
Gaius Valerius Taurus	IV Macedonica	Papiria	Narbo	<i>CIL</i> 6874
Gnaeus Coelius Marullinus	IV Macedonica	Papiria	Narbo	<i>CIL</i> 6863
Gaius Attius Maximus	IV Macedonica	Pupinia	Baeterrae	<i>CIL</i> 11848
Gaius Caecilius Parra	IV Macedonica	Pupinia	Baeterrae	<i>CIL</i> 6857
Gaius Valerius Tertius	IV Macedonica	Pollia	Hasta	<i>CIL</i> 6875
Lucius Lictavius Verus	IV Macedonica	Aniensis	Forum Iulii	<i>CIL</i> 6868
Gaius Iulius Macrinus	IV Macedonica	Aniensis	Forum Iulii	<i>CIL</i> 6866
Gaius Minicius Asper	IV Macedonica	Stellatina	Aug. Taurinorum	<i>CIL</i> 6870
Titus Clodius Optatus	IV Macedonica	Stellatina	Aug. Taurinorum	<i>CIL</i> 6862
Marcus Lutatius Albanus	IV Macedonica	Sergia	Corfinium	<i>CIL</i> 6869
Q. Castricius Severus	IV Macedonica	Papiria	Ticinum	<i>CIL</i> 6859
Marcus Aurelius Metelus	IV Macedonica	Camilia	Alba Pompeia	<i>CIL</i> 6855
Lucius Fabius Fabius	IV Macedonica	Galeria	Nertobriga	Selzer 6
Lucius Attius Nepos	IV Macedonica	Galeria	Nertobriga	<i>CIL</i> 6853
Quintus Atius Quietus	IV Macedonica	Galeria	Nertobriga	<i>CIL</i> 6854
Titus Iulius Macer	IV Macedonica	Galeria	Nertobriga	<i>CIL</i> 6865
Gaius Bruttius Crescens	IV Macedonica	Sergia	Tucci	<i>CIL</i> 6856
L. Cattonius Secundus	IV Macedonica	Claudia	Virunum	<i>CIL</i> 6860
Lucius Gimilius Cerialis	IV Macedonica	Claudia	Virunum	<i>CIL</i> 6864
Marcus Dipponius Icco	IV Macedonica	Claudia	Iuvavum	<i>CSIR</i> 141
Sextus Careius Florus	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Forum Augusti	<i>CIL</i> 6958
Marcus Cornelius Optatus	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Aquae Sextiae	<i>CIL</i> 6959
Sextus Valerius Severus	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Lucus Augusti	<i>CIL</i> 6978
Publius Solius Suavis	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6972
... Paullus	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Vienna	<i>CIL</i> 6969
Marcus Terentius Tertius	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Decias	<i>CIL</i> 6974
Marcus Iulius Adiutor	XXII Primigenia	Voltinia	Apta	<i>CIL</i> 11860
Titus Vibius Optatus	XXII Primigenia	Pollia	Eporedia	<i>CIL</i> 6981
Titus Iavennius Proculus	XXII Primigenia	Pollia	Faventia	<i>CIL</i> 6961
Gaius Annius Salutus	XXII Primigenia	Aniensis	Vercellae	<i>CIL</i> 6953
Marcus Mucius Albus	XXII Primigenia	Publilia		<i>CIL</i> 6966
Quintus Valerius Virilio	XXII Primigenia	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CIL</i> 6975
Gaius Valerius Virillio	XXII Primigenia	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CSIR</i> 161
Gaius Vibulius Valentinus	XXII Primigenia	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CIL</i> 6982
Marcus Novellius Rom...	XXII Primigenia	Oufentina	Mediolanum	<i>CIL</i> 6967
Lucius Valerius Tertullus	XXII Primigenia	Pupinia	Laus Pompeia	<i>CIL</i> 6979
Gaius Faltonius Secundus	XXII Primigenia	Pomptina	Dertona	<i>CIL</i> 6960
Lucius Sergius Valentinus	XXII Primigenia	Sabatina		<i>CIL</i> 6971
Marcus Sulpicius Vales	XXII Primigenia	Sabatina	Mantua	<i>CIL</i> 6973
Gaius Matteius Priscus	XXII Primigenia	Lemonia	Bononia	<i>CIL</i> 6964
... Catulus	XXII Primigenia	Claudia	Virunum	<i>CIL</i> 6984

Table 2. Origins of men from four legions best represented in Mainz inscriptions

Legion	Date	Italy	Gaul	Spain	Austria
<i>XIV Gemina</i>	13 BC–AD 43	79%	17%		3%
<i>XVI Gallica</i>	13 BC–AD 43	71%	29%		
<i>IV Macedonica</i>	AD 43–70	30%	41%	19%	10%
<i>XXII Primigenia</i>	AD 43–70	62%	33%		5%

from northern Italy, from places such as Mediolanum, Eporedia, Vercellae, Mantua, Laus, Bononia, and Dertona, but also from Aquae Sextiae, Lucus Augusti, Vienna, Decias, and Apta in southern Gaul.

In some cases, the epitaphs reveal that certain soldiers in the garrisons at Mainz were related by blood. From *Legio XIV Gemina*, these include the brothers Gaius Donius Suavis and Lucius Donius Albanus, both from Virunum, as well as the brothers Gnaeus Musius and Marcus Musius from Veleia (Fig. 60) who are named as deceased and dedicator respectively in one epitaph. Two brothers from Mediolanum, Marcus Cassius and Gaius Cassius, who also served in the fourteenth legion, are buried together. Marcus Arruntius was a cousin of Publius Urvinus from Forum Fulvii in Liguria, and although service in *Legio XIII Gemina* is mentioned only for Urvinus in his epitaph, the cousin Arruntius may well have come from the same place and served in the same unit. The recruitment of young men who came from the same region and who served together is also indicated in an epitaph naming Titus Pompeius from Vienna and a fellow citizen (of Vienna) who was his heir. Titus Pompeius served in *Legio XVI Gallica*, and so probably did his heir.

There is one family name that recurs four times in the military epitaphs in Mainz, namely that of the Cassii. These include the two above-mentioned brothers, Marcus Cassius and Gaius Cassius of *Legio XIV Gemina*, as well as Lucius Cassius of *Legio XVI Gallica*, and Gaius Cassius Geminus of *Legio XV Primigenia*. All these men were from the voting district of Oufentina and they named Mediolanum as their home, where the Cassii are attested often in inscriptions.⁷ Only the two from *Legio XIV Gemina* are definitely related by blood, as witnessed by their epitaph, but the others may well have been members of the larger family who followed in the footsteps of their cousins, uncles, or even fathers. A man named P. Cassius, *aquilifer* (eagle-bearer) of *Legio XIV*, is also mentioned in an epitaph commemorating his slave, but his origin is not given, so we do not know whether he, too, came from Mediolanum.⁸

⁷ See *CIL V*. 5983–92.

⁸ *CIL XIII*. 6888/*CSIR II*, 6. 53.

ORIGINS OF LEGIONARY TROOPS IN CHESTER

In the context of the Roman military campaigns in Wales in the 70s AD, the first legion to be deployed to its new base on the River Dee at Chester/*Deva* was *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis*, which remained stationed there from 74/5 to about 90 at the latest.⁹ It was replaced then by *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*. This legion, apart from at least partial absences in the second century, remained in Chester until about 260. Already in the late first century, a civilian settlement developed to the south, east, and west of the fort, the inhabitants of which included legionary veterans, foreign traders, and locals, as well as a port facility on the river. Most of the gravestones shown in Table 3 once stood in the cemeteries to the north and south of the fort, but they were later, possibly in the early fourth century and again in the post-Roman period, built into the refurbished north wall from which they were finally extracted in the late nineteenth century.

Table 3. Military personnel in the legions at Chester after AD 74/5

Name	Legion	Tribus	Origin	Reference
...esis Pudens	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Sergia	Aug. Praetoria	<i>RIB</i> 482
Gaius Calventius Celer	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Claudia	Aprus	<i>RIB</i> 475
Gaius Iuventius Capito	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Claudia	Aprus	<i>RIB</i> 476
Lucius Terentius Fuscus	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Claudia	Aprus	<i>RIB</i> 477
...imius...	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Claudia	Aprus	<i>RIB</i> 484
Quintus Valerius Fronto	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Claudia	Celeia	<i>RIB</i> 479
Lucius Valerius Seneca	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Claudia	Savaria	<i>RIB</i> 480
Sebdius Pudens	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Tromentina	Aequum	<i>RIB</i> 486
Lucius Annius Marcellus	II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis	Tromentina		<i>RIB</i> 487
Lucius Caiatius Sextinus	XX Valeria Victrix	Galeria	Lugdunum	<i>RIB</i> 493
Lucius Lucinius Valens	XX Valeria Victrix	Teretina	Arelate	<i>RIB</i> 500
Q. Vibius Secundus	XX Valeria Victrix	Aniensis	Cremona	<i>RIB</i> 508
P. Rustius Crescens	XX Valeria Victrix	Fabia	Brixia	<i>RIB</i> 503
Caecilius Avitus	XX Valeria Victrix	Papiria	Emerita Augusta	<i>RIB</i> 492
Gaius Lovesius Cadarus	XX Valeria Victrix	Papiria	Emerita Augusta	<i>RIB</i> 501
Q. Postumius Solus	XX Valeria Victrix	Papiria	Emerita Augusta	<i>RIB</i> 502
Gaius Iulius Quartus	XX Valeria Victrix	Claudia	Celeia	<i>RIB</i> 498
Marcus Sextius Bellicus	XX Valeria Victrix	Claudia	Celeia	<i>RIB</i> 504
...	XX Valeria Victrix	Claudia	Celeia	<i>RIB</i> 511
M. Aurelius Alexander	XX Valeria Victrix		Osroene	<i>RIB</i> 490
...	XX Valeria Victrix	Palatina	Oea	<i>RIB</i> 512
...	XX Valeria Victrix	Publilia		<i>RIB</i> 509

⁹ Manning 2000; Mason 2001.

The epitaphs of the men from *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis* suggest that this legion had recruited most heavily from Aprus in Thrace, but also took men from Noricum (Celeia), Pannonia (Savaria), Dalmatia (Aequum), and northern Italy (Augusta Praetoria). The soldiers serving in this legion might not have been recruited freshly for the unit; the legion had only just been created in AD 68/9, and may have absorbed men who came from these recruitment areas, but who had already been serving in the Italian fleet in Ravenna.¹⁰ *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* drew its men from more disparate sources, possibly because different regions were tapped over the very long history of the legion. The men came primarily from the Iberian peninsula (Emerita Augusta) and Noricum (Celeia), with a mix of others from Syria (Osroene), Gaul (Lugdunum, Arelate), northern Italy (Cremona, Brixia), and North Africa (Oea). A number of gravestones of soldiers in Chester give the standard information on the deceased, but not the legion to which the man belonged. They name the voting district of Tromentina and the city of Aequum in Dalmatia, the colony of Ulpia Traiana on the lower Rhine, the Sergian voting district and the city of Corduba, the Fabian voting district and the cities of Berytus (modern Beirut) and Brixia, the voting district of Aniensis and the Gaulish city of Forum Iulii, as well as the Claudian voting district and the cities of Virunum and Savaria.¹¹ At any rate, the predominance of Italy and southern Gaul as areas in which legionary soldiers were recruited in the first three quarters of the first century AD, as is evident in the inscriptions in Mainz, clearly is no longer the case by the second and third centuries. Italians made up only 11 per cent of the soldiers with *origo* details in *Legio II*, and they were clearly outnumbered by men from the Balkan, Danube, Alpine, and Adriatic regions (89 per cent). Unlike the garrisons at Mainz, no blood ties between any of the soldiers named in these epitaphs can be recognized. In fact, the heirs mentioned in the epitaphs are people whose relationship to the deceased is unclear, or they are wives, or a freedman.¹²

ARMY SERVICE: A MOBILE CAREER

It is impossible to say how many of the soldiers stationed in Mainz and Chester might have returned to their homes had they lived long enough to be discharged honourably. The age at recruitment of the seven legions

¹⁰ Mann 1983: 53.

¹¹ *RIB* 486, 487, 506, 518, 519, 538, 527, 531, 546, 547.

¹² Relationships unclear: *RIB* 483, 488, 490, 492, 494, 496, 497, 498, 500, 501, 503, 507, 510, 511, 514, 516. Wives: *RIB* 491, 505. Freedman: *RIB* 509.

garrisoning Mainz until c. AD 70 ranged from 15 to 33, the average age being 20. At Chester, the age at recruitment of the garrison ranged between 14 and 23, but on average these men too were around 20. After twenty to twenty-five years in service, or even longer, returning home might not have been a viable alternative for many reasons. Consider the 60-year-old Quintus Etuvius Capreolus from Vienna who died in Aquileia in the first century AD after a military career spanning forty years, first as a foot soldier (*miles*), then a cavalryman (*eques*), a centurion, and finally a prefect of a cohort.¹³ After such a long absence from home, what might he have had to return to? Titus Cirrius Deciminus, a veteran soldier originally from Arles, is one of the soldiers who may have served in Mainz and settled there, rather than back home in Gaul, on retirement in the mid-first century AD.¹⁴ Lucius Licinius Valens, originally from Arles, settled at Chester upon retirement in the late first or early second century.¹⁵ Some of the soldiers from Mainz and Chester, however, did return to their homes upon discharge, as the epitaphs in those places indicate. Titus Carsius Certinus returned from Chester to Arles in the second century as a veteran of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*.¹⁶ So, too, did Aurelius Valentinus of the same legion.¹⁷ He died in Arles at the age of 50.

Physical mobility was a regular feature of army life. Soldiers were aware of the fact that they may be stationed far away from home, and that at any time they, as individuals, or their whole unit, or a part of their unit might be sent to the other end of the empire. The epitaphs from Mainz and Chester are representative of the great distance between place of origin and recruitment and the place of service. How often and how widely soldiers could 'travel' is made clear in epitaphs, particularly those of officers, that outline a career. Sometimes they might be relocated from a frontier legion to serve in the urban cohorts of Rome itself, or they might be moved from one legion to another clear across Europe.¹⁸ A centurion, whose name has not survived, served first with *Legio V Macedonica*, then with *Legio VIII Augusta*, then *Legio II Augusta*, and finally with *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*.¹⁹ Here is a man from the Publilian voting district, almost certainly an Italian, who had served in both eastern and western Europe to complete his career in Britain. The last posting, where he died, was Chester. *Legio II Augusta* had been at Caerleon in Wales before it came to Chester in AD 74/5, so he could have been at either place. *Legio VIII Augusta* had been the garrison of Strasbourg/*Argentorate* since AD 70, but before that the legion had been in Moesia on the Danube. *Legio V*

¹³ *I.Aq.* 2744.

¹⁴ *AE* 1995: 1167/ Witteyer and Fasold 1995: 32, no. 9/Wierschowski 2001: no. 56h.

¹⁵ *RIB* 500.

¹⁶ *CIL* XII. 679.

¹⁷ *CIL* XII. 678.

¹⁸ *CIL* VI. 2649/*ILS* 2035; *CIL* VI. 2673; *CIL* VI. 2725; *CIL* VI. 2758.

¹⁹ *RIB* 509.

Macedonica was in Moesia throughout the first century AD. This centurion died at 61, and if we take the hypothetical year of his death as 95, he would have been born around 34. He may have signed up at the age of 20 in AD 54, and it might have taken him another fifteen years to be promoted to centurion in 69. He could have started his career in *Legio V Macedonica* in Moesia as a simple soldier, working his way up to become a centurion of that legion or of *Legio VIII Augusta*, moving with it to Strasbourg, and then taking up the posts in Caerleon and finally Chester.

We can follow another army career in the epitaph of Lucius Septimius Marcellinus in Lyon (see Appendix, No. 11).²⁰ A Pannonian born in the Trajanic colony at Ulpia Poetovio (modern Ptuj in Slovenia), Marcellinus served as a centurion in *Legio I Adiutrix*, then in *Legio XIII Gemina*, and finally in *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Severiana Alexandriana*. The 30th legion was raised after c. AD 122, but vexillations of it were not sent to be the city garrison of Lyon, where Marcellinus died, until after 197. At any rate, the epithet *Severiana Alexandriana* was not given to the legion prior to the reign of Severus Alexander (222–35). Throughout the second century, *Legio I Adiutrix* was stationed in Carnuntum in Pannonia, and *Legio XIII Gemina* had its headquarters in that century in Apulum in Dacia. This man of Danubian origin could have been about 60 years old when he died, although his age is not given in the epitaph. On epigraphic grounds, the stone dates to c. AD 250, giving us a hypothetical birth year of around 190. He probably was not born, however, until 193 or a little later, since his family name, Septimius, could only have been given to him or his father with a grant of citizenship under the emperor Septimius Severus (193–211). Were he born in 194, he could have enlisted at 20 years of age in 214, becoming a centurion fifteen years later in 229 and retiring around 239. Thus, an analysis of the epitaph tells us that Marcellinus came from eastern Europe and spent much of his army career there, until he was sent across Europe to serve on the Rhine frontier and, ultimately, in the interior of Gaul.

ORIGINS OF LYON'S POPULATION

The site of Lyon/*Lugdunum*, capital of Gallia Lugdunensis, was established as a Roman colony in 43 BC, an act that also involved the settlement of Roman veterans. Strabo described the colony in the first century as the governor's headquarters, the focus of the imperial cult, and an important trading city,

²⁰ *CIL* XIII. 1890.

although in fact its peak was probably reached only in the second century.²¹ Estimates on the number of inhabitants in Lyon in the second century AD range from 30,000 to 35,000, and even as high as 50,000.²² This might be slightly optimistic, considering that Narbonne recently has been estimated to have had a population of about 35,000, and that Lyon, according to Strabo, was the second most populous city in Gaul after Narbonne.²³ Lyon has produced numerous funerary inscriptions, many of which give us information on the *origo* or ethnic affiliation of its inhabitants. The majority of the epitaphs under discussion commemorate the civilian population, despite the presence of urban cohorts guarding the mint. After AD 197 there was a different military population in the city, drawn from the four legions on the Rhine, and this is reflected in the inscriptions. It could be that some of the presumed civilians also may have had connections with the military, even if this is not recognizable in the epitaphs. The epitaphs of civilians, active soldiers, and veterans and their families—all *incolae*, because they were not native to Lyon—are included in Table 4.

Of the eighty-two inscriptions specifically naming the origin of the deceased who were not from Lyon, six (7 per cent) belong to veteran soldiers. There were, of course, many more veterans whose origins are not revealed in the epitaphs. All the veterans with a given *origo*, except one, came from northern Gaul (Remi, Treveri), the Rhineland (*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis*/Cologne and Germania Superior) or Thrace (Philippopolis). Soldiers actively serving in the first, second, and third centuries make up 10 per cent of the inscriptions. The origin of the first- and second-century urban cohorts was primarily Italy (voting districts Quirina, Stellatina, Aniensis), but in the two centuries thereafter the cohorts and the legionary detachments came primarily from the two German provinces and Pannonia, with only one from Italy (Rome) and one from Gallia Belgica (Treveri).

Amongst the civilian population, a mixture of various people from other parts of Gaul, such as the surrounding central Gaulish territories of the Sequani, Lingones, Veliocasses, Carnutes, Cadurci, Voconti, Bituriges, Aedui, Segusiavi, Remi, Parisi, and Mediomatrici, or from the neighbouring colony at Vienne, or from Gallia Narbonensis (simply referred to as *natione Provincialis*), are strongly represented (33 per cent), followed by the Treverans with 13 per cent. Individuals from the German provinces, especially Xanten and Cologne, and from the territory of the Triboci, Nemetes, and Sunuci are well represented

²¹ Strabo, *Geography* 4. 3. 2, 4. 6. 11. On Lyon, see Wuilleumier 1953; Drinkwater 1975; Audin 1986; Wierschowski 1995: 153–70.

²² Lasfargues 2000: 10–11; Audin 1986: 10–11.

²³ Gayraud 1981: 478. Wierschowski 1995: 156, discusses discrepancies in Strabo's population numbers.

Table 4. Population not native to Lyon in the first to third centuries AD (*CIL* = *CIL* XIII)

Name	Tribus	Origin	Profession	Date	Reference
Gaius Donatius Quartus		Treveri	Sevir Augustalis	80–115	<i>CIL</i> 1949
Cacuronius		Treveri		70–100	<i>CIL</i> 1984
G. Mansuetius Brasus		Treveri		80–100	<i>CIL</i> 2012
M. Tertinnius Matus		Treveri		70–100	<i>CIL</i> 11200
M. Curvelius Robustus	Aniensis		Coh. Urb.	70–100	<i>CIL</i> 1853
Lucius Ateilius	Stellatina		Coh. Urb.	1st c.	<i>CIL</i> 1834
Gaius Claudius Florus		Sunuci		1st c.	<i>AE</i> 1982: 706
... Marcius Ur...		Segusiavi		1st c.	<i>CIL</i> 2013
Gaius Apronius Raptor		Treveri	Negotiator	110–25	<i>CIL</i> 11179
Terminalis		Treveri	Slave	115–40	<i>CIL</i> 2032
M. Murranius Verus		Treveri	Negotiator	125–50	<i>CIL</i> 2033
Marcus Sennius Metilus		Treveri	Negotiator	130–60	<i>CIL</i> 2029
Cupitius Ingenuus		Treveri		150–200	<i>CIL</i> 1977
Sex. Cossutius Primus	Quirina		Vet. Coh. Urb.	150–97	<i>CIL</i> 1852
Titus Tincius Alpinus		Lingones	Decurio/Duovir	2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1922
Q. Capitonius Probatas		Rome	Sev.Aug./Navic.	2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1942
Gaius Latinius Reginus		Remi	Sagarius	2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2008
Iulia Decmina		Aedui		2nd c.	<i>ILTG</i> 253
Tauria Titiola		Aedui		2nd c.	<i>ILTG</i> 259
L. Maternius Maturus		Voconti		2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2017
M. Ducundius Primus		Voconti		2nd c.	<i>AE</i> 1973: 332
Gaius Optatius Silanus		Cadurci		2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2021
Quintus Iulius Potitus		Cadurci		2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2001
M. Attius Marcellinus		CCAA	Coh. Urb.	2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1836
Gaius Maglius Albinus	Quirina		Coh. Urb.	2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1867
M. Victorinius Vitalis		Parisi		2nd c.	<i>AE</i> 1976: 433
Caludius Senis		Andicavi		2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1987
Ioulianos Euteknios		Laodikeia	Trader?	c.200	<i>AE</i> 1975: 614
... ae Cassius		Barcino		c.200	<i>AE</i> 1973: 337
Pulchra		civ. Trax		c.200	<i>AE</i> 1991: 1227
Iulia Artemisia		Asiana		2/3 c.	<i>CIL</i> 2004
Petronius		Puteoli		2/3 c.	<i>CIL</i> 2022
Lupus		Cadurci/Carn.		2/3 c.	<i>CIL</i> 2011
Tiberius Claudius Felix	Fabia	Rome	Legionary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1893
Sertoria Festa	Fabia	Rome		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1893
Marcus Aurelius Primus		Remi	Vet. Legionary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1856
G. Marcus Peregrinus		CCAA	Vet. Legionary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1844
Titus Flavius Florus		Philippopolis	Vet. Legionary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1856
Mansuetia Poppa		Germ. Sup.		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1868
Quintinius Primanius		Treveri	Vet. Legionary	222–35	<i>CIL</i> 1883
L. Septimius Mucianus		Philippopolis	Vet. Legionary	c.250	<i>CIL</i> 1891
L. Septimius Peregrinus		Traianensis		c.250	<i>CIL</i> 1892
Adelfus					
Victorius Regulus		Nemetes	Negot./Purpur.	3rd c.	<i>AE</i> 1982: 709
Iulius Verecundus		Laodikeia	Negotiator	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2003
Atticus...		Rome		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1980
Iuventia Chleuvia		Sunuci		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1882
Adiutoria Perpetua		Traianensis		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1976

Pontia Martina	Provincialis		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1880
Tertinia Amabilis	Graeca		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1897
Aurelius Attianus	Britto		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1981
Connia Lucina	Viennensis		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1988
Titus Veratius Taurus	Treveri		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1988
Celerinus Fidelis	Batavi	Legionary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1847
L. Septim. Marcellinus	Pannonius	Legionary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1890
M. Valerius Silvanus	Germ. Inf.	Auxiliary	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1892
M. Bettonius Romulius	Tricastinorum	Decurio	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1913
Mucassenia Fortunata	Germ. Sup.		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1874
Victoria Ursula	CCAA		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1904
Lucia Vindicia Luperca	CCAA		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1905
Constantinius Aequalis	Germ. Prov.	Sev.Aug./Negot.	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1945
Pompeius Catussa	Sequani	Tector	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1983
Decimia Decmillia	Sequani		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1990
Divixtus	Sequani		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1991
Illiomarius Aper	Veliocasses	Lintear./Utriclar.	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 1998
Iulius Alexsander	Afer	Vitriarius	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2000
Iulia Pu . . .	Graeca		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2005
Kaninia Galatia	Graeca		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2007
Litiavus Necochoiris(?)	Carnutes	Sagarius	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2010
Gaius Decimanius	Viennensis	Nauta/Utriclar.	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2009
Marinia Demetrias	Graeca		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2015
Maria Macrina	Aedui		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2014
M. Attonius Restitutus	Triboci	Negotiator	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2018
Poppillius	Sequani	Negot./Utriclar.	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2023
Didius Martinus	Bituriges		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2025a
L. Secundius Octavus	Treveri	Freedman	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2027
Valerius Honoratus	Traianensis		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2034
Valerius Sattiolus	Lingones(?)	Negotiator	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2035
Varenius Lupus	CCAA		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2037
Varenius Taurus	Provincialis		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 2037
Dafniola	Veliocasses		3rd c.	<i>ILTG</i> 251
...	Thrax		?	<i>ILTG</i> 236
Metilia Donata	Mediomatrici		?	<i>CIL</i> 2019

(16 per cent). More exotic are the four Greeks, two Syrians, a North African from Carthage, two Thracians, one Briton, three citizens of Rome, and one individual each from Puteoli in Italy, Barcino in Spain, and Asia Minor.

Seventeen of the inscriptions (21 per cent) specifically refer to merchants, shippers, and craftsmen. The important position of Lyon on the confluence of two major rivers probably accounts for the presence of many of these. From the Mediterranean, goods were shipped up the Rhône to Lyon, and further inland on the Saône. The guild of the Rhône and Saône shippers (*corpus Nautae Rhodanici Ararici*) had its headquarters in Lyon, and members of this guild are frequently attested in funerary and dedicatory inscriptions.²⁴

²⁴ Wuilleumier 1953: 50–3; Drinkwater 1978: 842–6.

A patron of this guild, Gaius Sentius Regulianus, died in Rome in the second century.²⁵ This man, a Roman knight, was also a merchant in Spanish olive oil and a wine dealer based in Lyon. His inscription in Rome gives us insight into the far-flung trade connections of individual businesses and into the mobility of the merchants themselves. Quintus Capitolinus from Rome was a *navicularius marinus*, a maritime shipper, based in Lyon, underlining the connections between the interior of Gaul and the Mediterranean. The two Syrians from Laodikeia were traders of some sort, but it is unknown what branch of trade they were engaged in.

The presence of some of the *incolae* from the western provinces can be explained by the Gallic and Germanic transport network. On the one hand, a main overland route branched out from Lyon to Chalon, Autun, and Sens, and another via Chalon to Langres where it led to Metz, Trier, and the Rhine, and to Reims and the coast. On the other hand, the Gallic river system connected Lyon with other regions. Strabo specifically mentions the Saône and Seine.²⁶ From the Saône, goods could be transported to the Seine and shipped to the Atlantic coast, reaching the northern Gaulish territories of the Veliocasses and Tricasses. Individuals from these regions are amongst those named in the epitaphs in Lyon, the Veliocassian man being a linen merchant and also in the transport business (*utriclarius*). One of the individuals from Vienne on the Rhône, the freedman Gaius Decimanius, was also a Saône shipper and *utriclarius* based in Lyon. From the Seine it is not far to the territory of the Carnutes, from whence Litiavus the cloak merchant came. From Lyon, goods also were transported to the Moselle region, in particular to Trier, and on to the Rhine, which explains the frequent presence of Treverans in Lyon. Three of the Treverans named in the epitaphs were merchants (*negotiatores*). One of them, Gaius Apronius Raptor, was also patron of the guild of the Saône shippers, and another, Marcus Sennius Metilius, was also the chairman of the guild of merchants on both sides of the Alps (*Corpus splendidissimum Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum*). Xanten, Cologne, and the territory of the Triboci and Nemetes were situated on the Rhine, this main northern artery facilitating the transportation of goods to northern Gaul, the German provinces, and Britain. The Tribocian, M. Attonius Restitutus, and the Nemetan, Victorius Regulus, are specifically named as merchants, the former dealing in prepared meats, the latter in purple dye. Thus, merchandise arriving in the nodal point of Lyon was redistributed and transported either overland on the extensive road network or the rivers that crossed all the territories named as the places of origin of the individuals in the inscriptions.

²⁵ CIL VI. 29722/ILS 7490/Wierschowski 2001: no. 97. On Gauls in Rome, see Noy 2000: 205–12.

²⁶ Strabo, *Geography* 4. 1. 4, 4. 3. 3.

The civilian residents in Lyon from other regions or towns are primarily drawn from the surrounding central Gaulish territories and the Rhineland with which there were economic ties. By comparison, the *incolae* in the Narbonese capital of Narbonne were from Italy, Spain, and other communities in Gallia Narbonensis.²⁷ Again, this is related to the location of Narbonne on the Mediterranean littoral and on a main overland route (*via Iulia Augusta, via Domitia*) into southern Gaul and Spain, and its role as an important port for seaborne trade.

We would be seeing only half the picture if our examination of *incolae* in Lyon were restricted to the male population. We need to ask why many of the women with stated *origo* were resident in the city. Obviously, some women from places other than Lyon presumably came to the city because their brothers, fathers, or husbands did. Unfortunately, none of the inscriptions from Lyon is as explicit as an epitaph in Rome that commemorates a Faenia Philumene who 'out of love to her husband followed him to the Province' (*in provinciam peregrinata est*).²⁸ In Lyon, the Greek woman Marinia Demetrias had a brother, Marinius Demetrius, although the reason for their presence in Lyon is unknown. The father of Dafniola, a 17-year-old Veliocassian girl, was probably also a Veliocassian, although his origin as dedicator of the memorial is not named. Dafniola was married, according to the epitaph, but why the husband is not named and why the tomb was clearly limited to the nuclear family of four individuals—Dafniola, her brother, mother, and father—is unclear. Iulia Decmina, Tauria Titiola, and Maria Macrina, all Aeduians, were in Lyon for unknown reasons, although at least Titiola and Macrina had husbands who might have brought them there. Adiutoria Perpetua, Decimia Decmilla, Iulia Pu..., Iulia Artemisia, and Kaninia Galatia were also married. The origin of their husbands is not stated. Based on the name Veratius, which is common in southern Gaul, Krier suggested that Titus Veratius Taurus, a Treveran, may have been a slave and owned by someone in Vienne before he was freed. Taurus' wife, Connia Lucina, was from Vienne, where he presumably met her, later bringing her with him when he came as a successful businessman to Lyon.²⁹ This is a plausible explanation for the circumstances of their movements, and there are certainly many more such stories of personal trials, tribulations, and successes that can never be extracted from the funerary epitaphs.

Generally speaking, in the first and second centuries, soldiers' families are recorded only if the soldier was a veteran, but it was not uncommon, once active soldiers could legally marry after 197, for them to bring foreign wives to

²⁷ Gayraud 1981: 472; Wierschowski 1995: 52–4.

²⁸ *CIL* VI. 17690.

²⁹ *CIL* XIII. 1988/Krier 1981: 12.

their postings. This is highlighted by an inscription commemorating Vegetina Romana, the wife of a soldier of *Legio VI Victrix Antoniniana*, who died 'in a foreign place' (*loco peregrine defunctae*).³⁰ This place, Chalon-sur-Saône, was not where she originally came from. Pontia Martina and Tertinia Amabilis were wives of veterans of *Legio I* and *Legio VIII* who were stationed in Lyon, whilst Mucassenia Fortunata and Victoria Ursula were married to actively serving soldiers in *Legio VIII* and *Legio XXX*. Lucia Vindicia Luperca's husband was a proconsular *beneficiarius* in Lyon. Mansuetia Poppa's brother served with the twenty-second legion, as did Iuventia Chleuvia's husband. Tiberius Claudius Felix, a centurion of *Legio I Minervia*, was accompanied by his wife to Lyon in the first half of the third century. Both of them were registered in the voting district of Fabia in the city of Rome, but she was the 17-year-old daughter of Sertorius Fortunatus, a centurion of *Legio III Cyrenaica Antoniniana* which was stationed in Arabia. Had he met Sertoria Festa in the east when he might have been involved in Caracalla's campaign against the Parthians on the Tigris and Euphrates in AD 216? The intensity of this contact between army wives and other civilians can hardly be gauged.

ORIGINS OF COLOGNE'S POPULATION

Cologne attained colonial status under Claudius in AD 50, as is reflected in the name of the city, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*.³¹ At this time, Roman veterans were settled in Cologne, but they were not the first inhabitants of the town. From the very beginning of the first century AD, a civilian settlement existed on the same site, known as the *Oppidum Ubiorum*, at which the Germanic Ubii, but also northern Gaulish newcomers, Italian army veterans, and merchants lived. Until the 30s, at least vexillations of *Legio I* and *Legio XX* were stationed three kilometres south of Cologne at the Alteburg, this site later in the mid-first century becoming the permanent base of the Rhine fleet, the *Classis Germanica*. From the 30s, *Legio I* was the permanent garrison in Bonn; *Legio XX* went on to Neuss and, in 43, to Britain. Other major military installations over the next three centuries were located at Neuss and Xanten, down river from Cologne. In 85 Cologne became the capital of the province of Germania Inferior. Population estimates for the town in the second and early third century range from between 15,000 and 20,000.³² Table 5 shows the non-native population recorded in funerary inscriptions in Cologne.

³⁰ *CIL* XIII. 2616/Wierschowski 2001: no. 518.

³¹ Carroll and Fischer 1999; Carroll 2001: 123–31; Carroll 2003b.

³² Horn 1987: 461.

Table 5. Population not native to Cologne in the first to third centuries AD (*CIL* = *CIL* XIII; G = Galsterer and Galsterer 1975)

Name	Tribus	Origin	Profession	Date	Reference
Lucius Baebius	Galeria	Veleia	Vet. Legionary	c.10–30	<i>CIL</i> 8286
G. Vetienius Urbicus	Pupinia		Legionary	c.10–30	<i>CIL</i> 8275
Gaius Deccius	Papiria	Ticinum	Legionary	c.10–30	<i>CIL</i> 8287
Bella		Remi		c.20	G 310
Gaius Aiadius	Stellatina		Slave trader	c.20	<i>CIL</i> 8348
Sextus Marcianus	Lemonia		Legionary(?)	c.10–30	<i>CIL</i> 8288
Lucius Metilius	Fabia		Vet. Legionary	c.10–30	<i>CIL</i> 8288
Lucius Pobilicius	Teretina		Vet. Legionary	c.40	G 216
M. Petronius Flosclus	Arniensis	Brixellum		0–50	<i>CIL</i> 8337
... Aurelius	Lemonia	Bononia	Vet. Legionary	0–50	<i>CIL</i> 8276
Horus		Alexandria	Marine	0–50	<i>CIL</i> 8322
Hemilius Lascius		Cananefates	Auxiliary	c.40–70	<i>CIL</i> 8316
... villiovus		Treveri		c.50	G 311
...	Voturia		Duovir	c.50	<i>ES</i> 1983: 23
Bienus		Viromandui		c.50–70	<i>CIL</i> 8341
Gatus		Viromandui		c.50–70	<i>CIL</i> 8342
Q. Pompeius Burrus	Aniensis	Forum Iulii	Vet. Legionary	c.60–70	<i>CIL</i> 8284
M. Vibius Maurinus	Papiria	Emerita Aug.	Legionary	c.70–85	G 218
Lucius		Marsaci	Auxiliary	c.70–100	<i>CIL</i> 8303
Romanus		Dardani	Auxiliary	c.70–100	<i>CIL</i> 8305
Titus Flavius Bassus		Denseletae	Auxiliary	c.70–100	<i>CIL</i> 8308
M. Sacrius Primigenius		Remi	Auxiliary	c.70–100	<i>CIL</i> 8309
L. Val. Verecundus		Ruteni	Auxiliary	c.70–100	<i>CIL</i> 12061
... Verecundus	Aniensis	Vercellae	Vet. Legionary	50–100	<i>CIL</i> 8849
Titus Iulius Tuttius	Claudia	Virunum	Legionary	50–100	<i>CIL</i> 8289
Mansuetus		Marsaci	Auxiliary	50–100	<i>CIL</i> 8317
Gaius Iulius Baccus	Galeria	Lugdunum	Auxiliary	50–100	<i>CIL</i> 8318
M. Valerius Celerinus	Papiria	Astigi	Vet. Legionary	c.100	<i>CIL</i> 8283
Albanius Vitalis		Treveri	Auxiliary	c.100	<i>CIL</i> 8519
Longinus Biarta		Bessi	Auxiliary	c.100	<i>CIL</i> 8312
Decimus Senius Vitalis		Brittones	Auxiliary	c.100	<i>CIL</i> 8314
Aemilius		Dumnonii	Marine	c.100	G 279
...	Pomptina			1st c.	<i>ES</i> 1983: 24
Q. Licinius Rusticus	Sergia	Corduba	Legionary	1st c.	G 226
Annus		Afer	Auxiliary	1st c.	<i>CIL</i> 8335
Q. Didius Euhodanus	Lemonia		Praef. Alae	2nd c.	<i>CIL</i> 12058
Tertinius Secundus		Nervii	Negot. pistor.	2/3 c.	<i>CIL</i> 8338
... Sulpicius Vittius		Nervii		2/3 c.	<i>CIL</i> 8339
Aurelia Gaiana		Sidon		c.200	G 208
Lucius Iulius ...		Cirta	Auxiliary(?)	c.200	G 286
Vellangus		Nervii		?	<i>CIL</i> 8340
Ruphus		Graecus	Flute player	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 8343
Dionysius Asclepiades		Alexandrinus		3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 8343
...		Carthage	Praef. Legionis	3rd c.	<i>CIL</i> 8269
Donatus		Afer	Protector	4th c.	G 288

Of the forty-five inscriptions naming the *origo* of the immigrant inhabitants of Cologne, seven (16 per cent) are those of army veterans from the legions; twenty-four are of active legionary or auxiliary personnel (53 per cent). This is, in proportion, considerably higher than the foreign army veterans and active soldiers appearing in the epitaphs from Lyon (7 and 10 per cent respectively). Fourteen inscriptions in Cologne belong to *incolae* who were civilians (31 per cent). The funerary epitaphs suggest that in the first century AD there was a strong presence of legionary veterans from Italy (Veleia, Bononia, Ticinum) and some civilians from northern Gaul (Treveri, Remi) in the *Oppidum Ubiorum*. The veterans had retired from *Legio I*, *Legio XX*, and *Legio V* stationed on the Rhine. The Remian woman Bella, who was buried by her husband, presumably accompanied him to Cologne in the early first century (Fig. 3). He may have been a merchant of some sort. So may have been the Treveran . . . villiovis who settled here with his family. Gaius Aiadius from northern Italy will also have been a trader (Fig. 67). The word *mango*, which follows his name in the epitaph, is almost certainly his profession, a slave trader, rather than his *cognomen*. Marcus Petronius Flosculus was also from northern Italy, and, although he was freeborn, he was buried together with a family of freedmen almost certainly also from that region. They, too, could have been engaged in some form of business in Cologne.

After the foundation of the colony in AD 50, increased numbers of civilians from northern Gaul (Viromandui, Nervii) settled in the city, along with legionary veterans of *Legio XXI*, *Legio XV*, and *Legio X* of more diverse origins from Italy (Forum Iulii, Vercellae), Austria (Virunum), and Spain (Astigi, Corduba, Emerita Augusta). In the latter half of the first century there is a noticeable presence of active auxiliary soldiers from Gaul (Remi, Ruteni, Treveri), the lower Rhine (Marsaci, Cananefates), Britain (Dumnonii, Brittones), Thrace (Dardani), and Africa who, at least temporarily, were in the city. The civilian family of Viromandui, from the region around Vermand in Gallia Belgica, may have had business connections in Cologne (Fig. 39), as did at least one of the Nervii from the region of modern Flanders, who was a flour merchant. Individuals from the eastern empire, from Sidon in Syria and from Mylasa in Asia Minor and Alexandria in Egypt, appear in Cologne in the late second and third centuries. Aurelia Gaiana from Sidon was the wife of a centurion of *Legio I Minervia*. He possibly met her whilst campaigning in the Near East under Lucius Verus against the Parthians from AD 162–6 or under Severus Alexander on his Parthian campaign in 232, and brought her back with him to the Rhineland. Ruphus was a Greek flute player who probably had connections with the theatre in Cologne. His father, who was an Alexandrian and, at the same time, a citizen of Athens, also may have been in the



Figure 67. Gravestone of the Italian slave-trader Gaius Aiadius in Cologne, early 1st century AD. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

entertainment business with an engagement in Cologne. In the third and fourth centuries North Africans with certain or probable military connections, from Constantine in Algeria and Carthage in Tunisia, were in Cologne for unknown reasons. The strongest economic ties, as reflected in the *incolae* at Cologne, were with the western hinterland of Gallia Belgica and in neighbouring communities in Germania Inferior itself. In that sense, Cologne is comparable to Lyon, or even Narbonne, in that the surrounding regions are most closely incorporated in the interests and development of the city.³³

³³ Wierschowski 1991.

FACTORS LEADING TO RELOCATION IN LYON AND COLOGNE

All together, the two main immigrant population groups that can be recognized through the inclusion of the *origo* in the funerary epitaphs in both Lyon and Cologne appear to have been economically motivated newcomers, or people who had an association with the military. As Noy points out in his study on Rome, a thriving economy and an opportunity for personal improvement were 'pull factors' attracting individuals to other communities, but there were also 'push factors' that may have forced people to leave their homes and take a chance elsewhere.³⁴ One of the 'push factors' that uprooted people was slavery. Consider Claudia Aster who ended up and died in the late first century AD in Pozzuoli in southern Italy; her epitaph tells us that she had been captured in Jerusalem (*Hierosolymitana captiva*), almost certainly during the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus.³⁵ Equally, an impoverished family might have had to send its sons to the army, wherever it might go, in order to survive. In any case, the proportion of civilians and soldiers in Lyon and Cologne differed greatly. In the first and second centuries, Lyon's non-native population with a specified origin is primarily civilian (81 per cent civilian, 19 per cent military), and this remained constant in the third century. If, however, the sons and wives of third-century military personnel are included with the soldiers, the proportion of military or 'military-associated' individuals from outside Lyon would be somewhat higher. Of the individuals with a named origin in Cologne in the first and second centuries, the military makes up 82 per cent, the civilians only 18 per cent of the non-native population. In the third century, soldiers constitute 25 per cent of the population not native to Cologne, whereas civilian *incolae* predominate with 75 per cent.

These statistics require some qualifying remarks. There was, of course, a vast concentration of soldiers on the Rhine frontier, some of whom will have been seconded to the governor in Cologne, and this is reflected in the epigraphic record. If we assume a military force of about 1,000 in the capital, this would constitute around 5–6.6 per cent of the population of 15,000–20,000. Furthermore, troops stationed in nearby Bonn, Neuss, and Xanten often may have been present in the city for one reason or another. In Lyon, on the other hand, urban cohorts about 1000 strong in the first and second centuries would constitute only about 3.3 per cent of a population of c.30,000, or even less if there were 35,000 inhabitants. But the military also dominates in Cologne's early epigraphic record because it was the army that introduced

³⁴ Noy 2000: 86–90.

³⁵ *CIL* X. 1971.

the custom of funerary commemoration to a region whose inhabitants were not familiar with this practice, and it was also soldiers who consistently included *origo* information on their tombstones. The third-century grave-stones of army men, when they are set up at the forts and towns on the Rhine, generally did not include information on the home towns of the soldiers, a combined result of the by then heavy use of local Rhenish men in the military who felt no need to state the obvious and the general decline in the inclusion of *origo* in funerary epitaphs. Nevertheless, when the men left the region in which they had become sedentary, they did include the information on the place from which they came. Thus, once in Lyon, and a new environment in which the men and their families may have felt the need to express their identity, they had this information inscribed on their tombstones.

In early Cologne, neither the indigenous population, nor the northern Gaulish *incolae* made immediate or substantial use of inscribed gravestones, so they are under-represented in the record. At the same time in Lyon, the economic community, already healthy since the late first century BC, attracted numerous businessmen, traders and craftsmen, often from the Mediterranean or Romanized Gaul. As it was a provincial capital and pan-Gallic cult centre located in the interior of Gaul, rather than on the frontier, the military genuinely was not a dominating force there. In a society in which social competition was played out in the administrative, religious, and commercial arena of this most important of cities in the Three Gauls (Aquitania, Lugdunensis, Belgica) there was perhaps a very strong incentive amongst the civilian population to use funerary commemoration to advertise status and influence. Since both civilians living in communities which were not their own and soldiers stationed away from home far more frequently included their *origo* in their funerary epitaphs than those who were native to the city or the region, it is perhaps logical that exogenous merchants, freedmen, soldiers, and veterans constitute the largest and most visible mobile groups in Cologne and Lyon.

FOREIGNERS IN ITALY

But what about the immigrant population in Italy itself? Noy's recent study on foreigners in Rome provides a wealth of information on the inhabitants who were not native to the city, so that a few examples will suffice here.³⁶ Foreign civilians in Rome include merchants, craftsmen, skilled labour, and

³⁶ Noy 2000.

specialists. Some of these were freedmen from other parts of the empire, such as the wholesale cloak merchant from Cilicia and the retail cloak dealer from Paphlagonia.³⁷ Freeborn merchants and specialists include those trading in fish sauce from the port town of Málaga on the southern Spanish coast (*negotians salsarius, corporis negotiantium Malacitanorum*), a banker (*nummularius*) from Dalmatia (*natione Bessus*), and a perfumer (*unguentarius*) from Lyon.³⁸ What brought Claudia Lepidilla from Gallia Belgica (*ex provincia Belgica, Ambianae*) to Rome is anybody's guess.³⁹ Families of foreign kings and chieftains periodically lived and died in Rome. The Dacian wife of Pieporus, the king of the Coisstobocenses, was commemorated by her two aunts in the capital in the later second century.⁴⁰ Aelius Aurelius Canartha, chieftain of the Mauretanian tribe of the Baquates in North Africa, was in Rome for some reason when he died at 16 years of age.⁴¹ Furthermore, large numbers of slaves and former slaves from foreign lands lived in Rome, but the epitaphs generally do not reveal their origin.

Since we have discussed the proportion of foreign civilians to foreign soldiers in Lyon and Cologne, it is worth highlighting this ratio in Rome itself. Contrary to common perceptions, the military had a strong presence in the city. Ten urban cohorts policed the city, with some of their men, particularly after Septimius Severus, originating in places such as Noricum and Pannonia.⁴² The Praetorian guard included soldiers from Macedonia, Germania Inferior, Dacia, Pannonia, and Thrace.⁴³ Throughout the first century AD, the German imperial bodyguard (*Germani corporis custodes*), made up of men from the Rhineland tribes of the Batavi, Ubii, Baetasii, Suebi, and so on, accompanied the emperor and formed a formidable foreign military presence in the capital until they were disbanded in 68 (Fig. 47).⁴⁴ Between 1,000 and 2,000 mounted bodyguards, the *equites singulares Augusti*, from Dalmatia,

³⁷ *CIL* VI. 9675/*ILS* 7577/Noy 2000: 116. These two men and their wives and others dedicated an epitaph to their patron, Lucius Arlenus Philogenus, and they were all buried on the Via Labicana in one plot: *CIL* VI. 12331.

³⁸ *CIL* VI. 9677/*ILS* 7278; *CIL* VI. 9709/*ILS* 7509; *CIL* VI. 9998/*ILS* 7611/Wierschowski 2001: no. 73. According to Strabo, *Geography* 3. 4. 2, the people of the port of Málaga traded with the inhabitants of the North African coast, and eastern Mediterranean traders appear also to have been active here (León Alonso and Rodríguez Oliva 1993: 17–18), but the Málagaans obviously also were engaged in commerce with Italy.

³⁹ *CIL* VI. 15493/*ILS* 7994/Wierschowski 2001: no. 76.

⁴⁰ *CIL* VI. 1801/*ILS* 854.

⁴¹ *CIL* VI. 1800/*ILS* 855.

⁴² *CIL* VI. 2914/*ILS* 2113; *CIL* VI. 2662/*ILS* 2147.

⁴³ *CIL* VI. 2645/*ILS* 2030; *CIL* VI. 2767/*ILS* 2032; *CIL* VI. 2548/*ILS* 2040; *CIL* VI. 2605/*ILS* 2041; *CIL* VI. 2425/*ILS* 2042; *ILS* 2044; *CIL* VI. 2566/*ILS* 2048; *CIL* VI. 2534/*ILS* 2050; *CIL* VI. 2604/*ILS* 2055; *CIL* VI. 2544/*ILS* 2066.

⁴⁴ For a detailed study of the Germanic bodyguard, see Bellen 1981.

Pannonia, Thrace, Dacia, and the German frontier carried on the tradition in the second and third centuries.⁴⁵ Between these troops and other paramilitary units stationed in Rome, Coulston has estimated a population of c.8000 soldiers under Augustus in the late first century BC and early first century AD, rising possibly to as many as 31,500 in the late second and early third century under Septimius Severus.⁴⁶ Those recruited on the frontiers were noticed in a negative way by the civilian city dwellers because of their savage appearance, terrifying speech, and boorish (Latin) conversation.⁴⁷ Even in death the German bodyguard were a community of 'others'. Their gravestones are very similar in form, size, and text and are based on the type of *stele* used by the urban cohorts of the Praetorian guard (Fig. 68). They stand apart distinctly from other contemporary funerary monuments of civilians.

There is more manageable information from other towns in Italy on non-Italians and on Italians who relocated to other communities, although it cannot be dealt with in anything but the briefest detail here. In Portus, we have a man from Rhodes, one from Poitiers in Gallia Aquitania (*ex Aquitania*) (Fig. 69), a Corsican, a Sardinian, an Egyptian and a Bessian serving in the fleet, as well as a citizen of an (unnamed) African colony (*civis Afer*



Figure 68. Gravestones of soldiers in the Germanic bodyguard of the emperor in Rome. Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano

⁴⁵ *CIL* VI. 3177/*ILS* 2196; *CIL* VI. 3239/*ILS* 2197; *ILS* 2198; *CIL* VI. 3176/*ILS* 2199; *CIL* VI. 3236/*ILS* 2204; *CIL* VI. 3191/*ILS* 2205; *CIL* VI. 3198/*ILS* 2207; *CIL* VI. 3234/*ILS* 2209; *CIL* VI. 3308/*ILS* 2210. On this unit, see Speidel 1994.

⁴⁶ Coulston 2000: 81.

⁴⁷ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 75. 2. 6.



Figure 69. Brick-built pyramid tomb of Tiberius Claudius Eumenes from Poitiers in Aquitania who was buried in the Isola Sacra cemetery in Portus, 2nd century AD

colonicus).⁴⁸ There were many immigrants living in Milan, most of them because of their profession. These include an Apulian cloak merchant and a Gaulish man in the same business from the region of Metz (*cives Mediomatricus*).⁴⁹ Here in Milan, as in Lyon, was a large branch office of the guild of merchants in goods from both sides of the Alps, and there were further offices in Cologne, Avenches, and Aquincum. One of these merchants (*negotiator Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum*), whose tribal affiliation as a Helvetian almost certainly indicates that he came from Avenches, the capital of the Helvetii, died to the west of Milan in Fara Novarese in the second century.⁵⁰ Clearly the Alps did not deter the movement of goods or people.

⁴⁸ Thylander 1952: A27; Thylander 1952: A13/Wierschowski 2001: no. 3; Thylander 1952: A178, B70, B105, B73, B161.

⁴⁹ *CIL V. 5925/ILS 7578*/Wierschowski 2001: no. 67; *CIL V. 5929*.

⁵⁰ *AE 2000*: 632. For another trader of this guild in Milan, see *CIL V. 5911*.

Social Mobility and Social Change

To Gaius Iulius Marinus, son of Gaius Iulius Ricoveriugus, from the Voltinian voting district, priest of Augustus, curator of Roman citizens, quaestor, vergobret. His daughter, Iulia Marina, had this made.

(Funerary epitaph of the early first century AD from Saintes: *CIL* XIII. 1048/*ILA* Santons, no. 20)

SLAVES: THE LOWEST OF THE LOW?

The Roman conquest of western and northern Europe had far-reaching consequences for the societies and individuals in those regions. In Chapter 8 we have looked at physical mobility, as witnessed in the epitaphs, and how, for various reasons, people migrated outside the confines of their towns, villages, and territories, some of them moving great distances from one place to another. The funerary inscriptions, although they are just one source of information, also give insight into social mobility and the restructuring of individual lives within Roman society. In this regard, the epitaphs alluding to one's standing in society or suggesting improvement of a personal situation through promotion, inheritance, marriage, or manumission are especially valuable. Equally insightful are those inscriptions naming professions, careers, and public honours. Of particular interest here are the slaves (*servi*) and freed slaves (*liberti*) who, in many cases, managed to achieve upward mobility, even if they had to operate within the confines of relatively constricting social and legal structures.

From the point of view of social status, slaves stood on the bottom of the ladder, even if arguably many of the freeborn urban poor were worse off economically. There cannot have been many members of Rome's poorest class of freeborn citizens who owned slaves, but we find slaves, particularly those belonging to the emperor, doing not only that, but also being able to support a wife and family, to afford a commemorative inscription, and to purchase substantial portions of communal tombs or erect large and stately mausolea

(see Appendix, No. 17).¹ A slave attached to the imperial family (*Caesaris Nostri servus*) or employed and paid by the state (*servus publicus*) was far better off than most others, and such an individual operated within a network of power and influence. Juvenal refers to the slaves of wealthy, urban owners as 'sleek, well-fed' individuals to whom clients paid bribes to be admitted into the house of their patron.² The lot of such slaves was hardly comparable to that of *servi* owned by, say, a shopkeeper or a farmer.

But whatever a slave's lot in life, he or she did not necessarily remain a slave forever, no matter who the owner was, although, as Wiedemann and Mouritsen point out, there was no automatic right to manumission, nor could slaves generally expect to be freed.³ From the point in time when the slave was manumitted, the individual became a freedman or freedwoman, a *libertus* or *liberta*, and often had full Roman citizenship, although the *lex Junia* (Junian law) of the early first century AD allowed and formalized the possibility of emancipation without full citizenship. Although the slave–master relationship was dissolved, a close relationship nevertheless persisted in that the former *dominus* was now the patron (*patronus*) and the former slave was the patron's client. The *libertus* remained symbolically under the authority of his patron and was expected to varying degrees to perform various duties (*operae*) when called upon. *Liberti* frequently were in a position to own their own slaves whom they might or might not free, continuing the master–slave/patron–client chain in the social order. In the following, using funerary epitaphs as a source of information, various scenarios for the release from bondage and improvement of status are discussed.

TESTAMENTARY MANUMISSION OF SLAVES

A slave's lot in life could be improved if he were freed by the owner (*dominus*) during the owner's lifetime. This may have been done because the slave was deemed to have been worthy of manumission, as was the case with Gaia Pacatia from Ateste who, according to her epitaph, was 'deservedly freed'.⁴ This did not mean that a deserving slave could count on being freed. In the

¹ *AE* 1972: 142/Silvestrini 1999: no. A15; *AE* 1972: 127/Silvestrini 1999: no. Ce14; Thylander 1952: A102, A251, A256; *CIL* XIV. 1636/Thylander 1952: B152. On the architecture of such tombs, see Neu 1981; Haensch 1999: 647–9, figs. 1–2. On the high proportion of slaves named as commemorators in inscriptions on *cupae* or barrel monuments in Iberia, see Tupman 2005: 130–1.

² *Satires* 3. 178. On domestic slaves, see Joshel 1992: 145–61.

³ Wiedemann 1985; Mouritsen 2001*b*.

⁴ *S.It.* 15: no. 143/Bodel 2003: 493.

inscription composed to commemorate the 25-year-old slave Narcissus who managed the estate of his owners Titicus Florianus and Teia Galla in Venafrò in southern Italy the law is blamed as the reason why this deserving man could not be freed.⁵ The law referred to is the *lex Aelia Sentia* passed in AD 4 that put limitations on the granting of freedom and citizenship to many individuals and groups, including those below 30 years of age, but, as Wiedemann argues, Narcissus' owners rather 'hid' behind this law.⁶ They *could* have manumitted him, pending official approval, had they really wanted to reward him for being so deserving a case. Narcissus was not freed, unlike the poor wretch Manius Egnatius Lucullus from Puteoli who was given his freedom in the early first century BC but had no time to enjoy it because he died on the very same day at the age of 31.⁷

A slave could also be freed upon his master's death, in which case this was stipulated in the owner's will (*manumissio testamento*). Perhaps the best known literary depiction of this can be found in Petronius' *Satyricon* in which the ostentatious freedman, Trimalchio, had his will read out during his dinner party, informing the guests which of his slaves were to be freed when he died and what they were to inherit.⁸ But the *manumissio testamento* is occasionally recorded in epitaphs as well. A funerary inscription in Rome reads: 'Lucius Vafrius Epaphroditus, freed at the age of thirty according to the will of Lucius Vafrius Tiro, centurion of *Legio XXII Primigenia*, on the tenth day of the kalends of April when Domitian was consul for the twelfth time. He lived thirty-one years and ten days' (he therefore died on 23 March, AD 86).⁹ Lucius Calpurnius Salvianus was freed in the first century BC in Córdoba according to the will of his master (*manumissus ex testamento*).¹⁰ Gaius Publius Heracla's will, which was reproduced in marble on his tomb in the Vatican necropolis beneath St Peter's basilica in Rome, mentions leaving legal control of his monument to his freedmen and freedwomen and to 'those whom I shall have freed by will'.¹¹ Lucius Baebius Zosimus took into his family tomb on the Via Ostiensis in Rome freedmen and freedwomen that he had freed while alive or who would be freed in the future by will, as well as the freedmen and freedwomen of his sons, manumitted while the sons were alive or later by will.¹²

The number of slaves freed at the death of their master varied according to the proportion of slaves in the household and according to their merits and loyalty. The *lex Fufia* of 2 BC, that limited any owner on the number of slaves he could liberate, must have forced the *dominus* to be selective. By freeing

⁵ *CIL* X. 14917. On the law, see Weaver 1986: 149–50.

⁶ Wiedemann 1985: 168.

⁷ *ILS* 7842.

⁸ *Satyricon* 71.

⁹ *ILS* 1985.

¹⁰ *CIL* II²/7. 432 = *CIL* II. 2265.

¹¹ *AE* 1945: 136/Gordon 1983: 142–3. A similar text can be found on *CIL* VI. 18104.

¹² *CIL* VI. 13484.

slaves, the owner could be assured of a fine funeral attended by those grateful individuals. The fictional freedman Chrysanthus, friend of Trimalchio, had manumitted his slaves in his will, and at his funeral ‘the mourning was very good’.¹³ The attendance of slaves freed by will at a funeral is portrayed on a relief from the tomb of the Haterii in Rome dating to the late first century AD (Fig. 70).¹⁴ The deceased, who lies in state, is attended by wailing women at the side of the bier. They are recognizable as freedwomen because they wear the pointed skull cap (*pileus*), or cap of liberty, given to liberated slaves as a sign of their new status. As a *patronus*, it was a matter of great prestige to have a large number of freed slaves in one’s funeral procession, and it is likely that Augustus’ *lex Fufia* was designed to curb this conspicuous and competitive display of wealth and generosity amongst the aristocracy, but also among those who emulated the aristocracy in this regard.¹⁵



Figure 70. Scenes of mourning freedwomen (seated on the lower right) wearing the cap of freedom (*pileus*) from the Tomb of the Haterii in Rome, late 1st or early 2nd century AD. Rome, Vatican Museums

¹³ Petronius, *Satyricon* 42.

¹⁴ Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 45–50, pls. 8–9.

¹⁵ Mourtsen 2001b: 14.

An owner who had released some of his slaves from bondage might also expect them to commemorate him. The inclusion of *T P I* (*testamento poni iussit*) at the end of an epitaph may be a reference to testamentary obligation on the part of the freedman to set up a memorial to the patron. Numerous inscriptions were commissioned by freedmen to commemorate their patron, although if a freedman, or a group of freedmen, set up a memorial to the patron this tells us nothing about the total number of other slaves the owner might have freed. A freedman and two freedwomen saw to it that Lucius Maelonius Aper, their former master and patron, was commemorated with a monument in Mérida in Spain.¹⁶ A marble plaque in Nîmes lists five freedmen who commissioned the stone to commemorate their patrons, Lucius Utulius Albinus and his wife Iulia Servata (see Appendix, No. 20).¹⁷ These may well be slaves whose manumission had been guaranteed by their masters' wills. The same may apply to the two slaves of Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia from Rome who 'with their own funds' (*de suo*) paid to have the portrait stone made of their patron and patroness in the late first century BC (Fig. 71).¹⁸ As an added 'bonus', they, and three other named freedmen of



Figure 71. Epitaph and portraits of Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia from Rome, late 1st century BC. The British Museum

¹⁶ CIL II. 491. ¹⁷ CIL XII. 4028.

¹⁸ CILVI. 2170/Zanker 1975: 296–7, fig. 34/Walker 1995: 80, fig. 57/*Kaiser Augustus*, cat. no. 189.

Sarculo and Plutia, were allowed to share their patrons' tomb, as a second, lengthier inscription tells us.¹⁹

The manumission of slaves was a sign of the owner's munificence and generosity, and this was something that was worth publicly displaying on the tomb. This could be done by including the names of the freed slaves in the text of the epitaph. There is, however, a unique group of funerary monuments in southern Gaul which does not always refer explicitly in the text to manumission, but which nevertheless provides a good indication of how many slaves the owner set free. In their corpus of inscriptions from Nîmes, published in 1893, Germer-Durand and Allmer noted several funerary monuments that have a carved or incised depiction of caps of liberty (*pilei*) somewhere on the inscribed face of the memorial.²⁰ They suggested that these *pilei* represented freed slaves. This is, I believe, absolutely correct, but the phenomenon is not limited to Nîmes. There are twenty-three funerary monuments in Nîmes, sixteen in Narbonne, and one in Lyon that have *pilei* on them, regardless whether the monument is an altar, *stele*, or mausoleum (Fig. 72).²¹ These caps, often arranged in rows, range in number from one to thirteen, the average number being four. If freedmen appear by name in the accompanying epitaph, the number of names do not always relate to the number of caps depicted, generally because only those who paid for the stone will have had their names recorded. As in the inscription beneath the portrait busts of Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia discussed above, only those two freedmen who provided the funds for the monument are named; the other freedmen who shared the tomb are listed in a separate inscription, and there is no mention of any financial contribution on their part. In the inscriptions with *pilei* from Nîmes, Narbonne, and Lyon, one freedman may be named as the commemorator, and yet three caps of liberty are represented, or the unspecified heirs (*heredes*) are said to be responsible for the monument and there are five caps in total.²² Equally, there may be no freedman mentioned at

¹⁹ *CIL* VI. 2171.

²⁰ Germer-Durand and Allmer 1893: no. 262, p. 580; no. 405, pp. 779–80; no. 566, p. 982.

²¹ Nîmes: *CIL* XII. 2998; *CIL* XII. 3205/Hope 2001: pl. 29; *CIL* XII. 3264; *CIL* XII. 3273/Hope 2001: pl. 32A; *CIL* XII. 3293; *CIL* XII. 3354; *CIL* XII. 3411/Sauron 1983: 73, fig. 8; *CIL* XII. 3474; *CIL* XII. 3511; *CIL* XII. 3603; *CIL* XII. 3669; *CIL* XII. 3720; *CIL* XII. 3760; *CIL* XII. 3803; *CIL* XII. 3892; *CIL* XII. 3893; *CIL* XII. 3945; *CIL* XII. 4064; *CIL* XII. 4157/Sauron 1983: 101; *CIL* XII. 4659; *ILGN* 442/Hope 2001: 213; *ILGN* 474; Espérandieu 1901–22: no. 488/Sauron 1983: 74, fig. 10; Narbonne: *CIL* XII. 4324; *CIL* XII. 4459; *CIL* XII. 4659; *CIL* XII. 4665; *CIL* XII. 4688; *CIL* XII. 4942; *CIL* XII. 5009; *CIL* XII. 5068; *CIL* XII. 5285; Lyon: *CIL* XIII. 2068. There are seven further unpublished examples in Narbonne, Musée Archéologique, Inv. No. 876.2.2; Narbonne, Musée Lapidaire Inv. 923, 1100, 1136, 1254, 1271, 1550; and one in Nîmes, Musée Archéologique, with no inventory number.

²² *CIL* XII. 3945; *CIL* XII. 3720.



Figure 72. Gravestone of the aedile Lucius Severius Severinus in Nîmes depicting three *pilei* at the bottom, 2nd century AD. Musée archéologique, Nîmes

all, despite a series of caps on the stone.²³ Only once can the *pilei* be directly related to the freedmen named in the epitaph. On this stone to Sextus Granius Boudo in Nîmes, three caps are depicted and three freedmen are named: Homullus, Iaphys, and Alchimedon.²⁴ It would appear that the caps were far more important as a visual indicator of the *number* of slaves generously freed than a list of the actual names and identities of the fortunate ones.

BUYING OR MARRYING INTO FREEDOM

A slave also could buy his freedom with money saved from the allowance (*peculium*) that was customarily given to slaves. Some slaves might have been given the *peculium* as working capital by the master to enable them to set up or engage in business ventures and operate in part independently, an

²³ CIL XII. 3273, 3293, 3411, 3669, 3803.

²⁴ CIL XII. 3603.

arrangement that contributed to the profits and returns of the *dominus* and also to the personal freedom, financial improvement, and quality of life of the slave.²⁵ Other slaves, however, might need a very long time to get enough cash together. To the latter group belongs the freedman Gaius Ofillius Aphrodisius who had been badly treated by his master, and who was only able to secure his freedom with the money he had managed to save over the years. This remarkable lament was inscribed on his gravestone in the first century AD in Narbonne.²⁶ The fictional former slave Hermeros paid 1,000 *denarii* for his own freedom, and he ransomed his fellow slave as well.²⁷ Imperial slaves or slaves of the elite, who acted as agents of their owners, were often in the best position to have accumulated considerable wealth, especially if they had taken bribes or tips or received back-handers. This is particularly the case for slaves working in the civil service, but it applies too to those employed by the rich. Perhaps the doctor, surgeon, and oculist from Assisi in central Italy, Publius Decimius Eros Merula, was in a position to profit handsomely from his skills in the right circles. At any rate, he was able to pay HS 50,000 for his freedom.²⁸

Social mobility for slaves also could be achieved through marriage, and the epitaphs confirm that marriage between a female slave and her owner was not uncommon (see Appendix, No. 18). Indeed, it was one of the reasons given in the *lex Aelia Sentia* for manumitting slaves under the normal age of 30. The practice is attested in epitaphs throughout the western empire, from Britain to Italy.²⁹ Tiberius Marius Martialis, a tribune of *Legio XXX Valeria Victrix*, married his freedwoman (*liberta et coniux*), Maria Nice, and commemorated her when she died in Lyon.³⁰ Attia Victorina in Nîmes was the *liberta* and *uxor*, freedwoman and wife, of Quintus Attius Agathopus.³¹ Marcus Abudius Luminaris in Rome stated that he was the husband and patron of his wife, the freedwoman Abudia Megiste.³² This kind of patron–client relationship meant that the manumitted woman was not obliged to perform any duties for a former owner, but was henceforth tied only to her husband.

²⁵ Garnsey 1981: 364; Bradley 1987: 108–12; Mouritsen 2001*b*: 18–19. On public slaves (*servi publici*) who were paid to work in the administration, see Frontinus, *Aqueducts* 2. 118.

²⁶ *CIL* XII. 5026.

²⁷ Petronius, *Satyricon* 57.

²⁸ *CIL* XI. 5400/*ILS* 7812.

²⁹ *RIB* 155; *RIB* 1065; *CIL* II. 5856/Knapp 1992: no. 133; *CIL* V. 6068; *CIL* VI. 8604; *CIL* VI. 22137; *CIL* XIII. 1880/Wierschowski 2001: no. 434; *CIL* XIV. 564/Thylander 1952: B14; *CIL* XIV. 1654/Thylander 1952: B155.

³⁰ *CIL* XIII. 1871.

³¹ *CIL* XII. 3446.

³² *CIL* VI. 9683/*ILS* 7488.

Epitaphs of this kind reveal two types of relationships between two people that were not necessarily connected. Through marriage to her owner, a female slave could significantly improve her social status, particularly because she would have to be freed in order for the union and the children of this union to be recognized by law. The epitaphs therefore give insight into three stages of personal and social mobility in these individuals' lives: slavery, freedom, and legitimate marriage. In many cases, the man may have been a slave himself and been 'married' to a female slave in the same household. Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematium, commemorated on a joint monument of c. 80 BC from Rome, lived together as a couple while they were slaves, but only when they were both freed could they legitimately marry (Fig. 61).³³ Male slaves appear to have had this route open to them far less often, although we do know of some who were liberated and married their *patrona*, despite the official opinion that a patroness thereby 'degraded' herself.³⁴ The wife of Gaius Apidius Primus in Rome was, at the same time, his patroness, and Gaius Novius Trophimus in Ostia was married to his *patrona*, Novia Synerusa.³⁵ When freed by her, he assumed her family name.

CHANGING NAMES, CHANGING STATUS

Freeborn Romans made use of their filiation in their names to signal that they were of free status. Freedmen, on the other hand, could not refer to themselves as 'son of. . .', rather they had to adopt the name of their owner and refer to themselves as 'freedman of. . .' Once released from bondage, the freedman assumed the family name of the former master. This name, along with the information that the individual was a freedman, appears regularly in personal names in funerary epitaphs (see Appendix, No. 19). The name of an individual who died in Orange, to name one example, reveals his status: *M. Arruntius M. l. Verecundus*, Marcus Arruntius Verecundus, freedman of Marcus.³⁶ In some cases, a slave might have two, or even three, masters, as reflected in the name. Q. Vitellius Aretis in Rome (*Q. Vitellius Q. A. l. Aretis*), for example, was the freedman of both Quintus Vitellius and Aulus Vitellius.³⁷ Servandus in Mainz was the freedman of three brothers, Lucius Valerius, Gaius Valerius, and Sextus Valerius.³⁸ Publius Sergius Bassus, buried on the Via Appia, was

³³ *CIL* VI. 9499/Walker 1995, 100, fig. 75.

³⁴ *Digest* 23. 2. 13. See Weaver 1986: 154; Weaver 1991: 180.

³⁵ *CIL* VI. 12129/*ILS* 8259; *CIL* XIV. 396/*ILS* 8346.

³⁶ *CIL* XII. 1234.

³⁷ *CIL* VI. 29079/*ILS* 7970.

³⁸ *CIL* XIII. 7119/*CSIR* II, 6. 36.

the freedman of both Publius Sergius Demetrius and his wife Sergia Rufa (*P. Sergius P. et O. l. Bassus*).³⁹ As is often the case in freedman nomenclature, Sergia Rufa is not specifically named; the reversed letter C is used to indicate that the patron was a woman. Occasionally slaves dedicated a monument with an epitaph and left a space after their name in the hope that they would be freed in the future, and into that space *libertus* could be inserted. Although this hope was not always fulfilled, an inscription from Ateste in north-east Italy indicates that a woman named Calybe had indeed acquired freed status after she had the stone made, and this was duly noted by a different stonemason by inserting *lib(ertina)* in the penultimate line of the text.⁴⁰

However, the word *libertus* did not always appear in the name, especially from the second century AD, and it is often difficult to determine whether the deceased was of servile origin. Determining the status of individuals by their names has been referred to by Weaver as 'the minefield of personal nomenclature'.⁴¹ Two inscriptions from Isola Sacra refer to Petronia Erotis who buried her husband, Tiberius Flavius Pharnax. In one of them, he is referred to as *Tiberius Flavius Pharnax, libertus*, but in the other one the couple's names are inscribed with no mention of the husband's freedman status.⁴² We would be hard-pressed to know that Lucius Sabinus Cassianus in Lyon was a freedman if it were not for the fact that the dedicator named in his epitaph, Priscus Eustochus, identifies himself as a fellow freedman (*collibertus*).⁴³ However, if a manumitted imperial slave somewhere in a family's history had assumed the name of the emperor in power at the time he gained his freedom, this part of his name was passed down the line, and such names are a sure sign of servile origin.⁴⁴

At any rate, the names of freeborn children of a *libertus/liberta* contain no reference to the status of their mother or father, so that within a generation this stigma would seem to have disappeared. Marcus Pilius Diophantus from Narbonne, for example, is named as the *libertus* of Marcus (*M. Pilius M. l.*

³⁹ *CIL* VI. 9993/*ILS* 7485. See also *CIL* VI. 38076 for another freedman of a married couple, and *CIL* II²/7. 405 = *CIL* II. 5526, *CIL* VI. 4633/*ILS* 8416 for freedwomen of two women.

⁴⁰ *AE* 1997: 681/*S.It.* 15: no. 155/Bodel 2003: 492. See also *CIL* X. 2134.

⁴¹ Weaver 1991: 173. For an older, but useful, discussion of nationality based on names, see Gordon 1960.

⁴² Thylander 1952: A110, A196. Although both inscriptions were found out of context, the inscription without the reference to freedman status appears to have been the main *titulus* attached to the outside of a tomb; the other panel may have been attached to something within a tomb.

⁴³ *CIL* XIII. 2026.

⁴⁴ *CIL* XIV. 1030/Thylander 1952: A105; *CIL* XIV. 5175/Thylander 1952: A252; *CIL* VI. 8502/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 595.

Diophantus); his son, however, is simply Marcus Turpius, son of Marcus (*M. f. Turpius*).⁴⁵ The names of father, mother, and son on an epitaph from Terruggia near Asti in north-west Italy signal the elevation in status within two generations: *C. Fulvius C. l. Philologus / Pulfennia T. f. Sabina, uxor / C. Fulvius C. f. Pol. Sabinus, filius*.⁴⁶ Philologus was a freedman, his wife Sabina was freeborn, their son Sabinus is named as the son of Fulvius, of the voting district of Pollia, and with full citizen's voting rights.

Although the names suggest that within two generations the upwardly mobile change in status had rectified any former servility in the family, it should be remembered that a servile background could be and often was remembered for generations, particularly by the upper classes.⁴⁷ However, Roman prejudice against freedmen seems particularly misplaced, given that many citizens were themselves descended from slaves. Prejudice, and not just a statement of facts, is almost certainly behind Tacitus' remarks that 'most knights, many senators, are descended from former slaves. Segregate the free, and you will only show how few freeborn there are!'⁴⁸ Based on epigraphic evidence, Gayraud estimated that at least 29.6 per cent of the population of Narbonne were freedmen, with possibly as many as 42.5 per cent belonging to this group if individuals with a Graeco-Oriental *cognomen* are included as possible former slaves.⁴⁹ Even in neighbouring Béziers, where freedmen appear to have been less dominant, a not insubstantial 13 per cent of the city's inhabitants consisted of ex-slaves.⁵⁰ Daubigny and Favory in their study on slavery in Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdunensis demonstrated that slaves and ex-slaves tended to be more numerous in urban environments, especially in major economic and administrative centres such as Lyon.⁵¹ As far as the biggest urban centre of them all was concerned, Tenney Frank estimated that nearly 90 per cent of the population of Rome was of slave stock, but this has been seriously debated since it was first proposed in 1916.⁵² It is generally accepted now that statistics on the percentage of ex-slaves in the population (based on the epitaphs) are not entirely reliable. *Liberti* are disproportionately represented in the epigraphic record because members of this sector of society were keen to erect memorials displaying their hard-won freedom and citizenship.⁵³

⁴⁵ *CIL* XII. 4410.

⁴⁶ *CIL* V. 7462.

⁴⁷ Treggiari 1969: 229–34; Joshel 1992: 32–5.

⁴⁸ *Annals* 13. 27.

⁴⁹ Gayraud 1981: 473.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Daubigny and Favory 1974: 318, 326–7, 342–6.

⁵² Frank 1916.

⁵³ Taylor 1961; Treggiari 1969; Hope 2001: 34–5; Mouritsen 2005.

FREEDMEN, FREEDWOMEN, AND THEIR PATRONS

The relationship between freedmen or freedwomen and their patron was a close one. For the freedman, this relationship was often based on economic security and obligation to the patron. For the patron there were many benefits, not only in life. In fact, a patron frequently depended in death on the maintenance of the family tomb by allowing his (often unnamed) freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants to be granted a place of burial at his side. The epigraphic formula *sibi et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum* (for themselves and their freedmen and freedwomen and their offspring) found in many epitaphs makes this abundantly clear (see Chapter 4).

For reasons of status and prestige, having the 'right' patron could be of great advantage to freedmen. Freedmen of the emperor (*Augusti liberti*) were particularly keen to include the reference to their illustrious former masters in their names (see Appendix, No. 18). The epitaph in memory of Hicelus in Rome, for example, is dedicated to *Ti. Claudio Neronis Augusti l. Hicelo*, indicating clearly that this freedman was once the slave of the emperor Nero.⁵⁴ The title *Augusti libertus* increased steadily from the mid-first century AD to the later second century, reflecting the growing importance of a large group of freedmen whose patron was the emperor.⁵⁵ Sons of such imperial freedmen occasionally still referred to their fathers' connections to the imperial house for reasons of prestige. The reference of a freedman to an aristocratic or even a royal patron was also an important status indicator. Cornelius Cinna Magnus, a consul in AD 5, had a freedman attendant named Oceanus who preserved this connection in his name: *Cn. Cornelius Magni l. Oceanus*.⁵⁶ The epitaph of Iulia Tyndaris in Rome tells us that she was the freedwoman of the Thracian king Gaius Iulius Rhoemetalcas.⁵⁷ But with enough wealth and diligence, even freedmen who had not worked for the imperial family could achieve social success for their offspring, even in some cases managing to see their son attaining equestrian rank.⁵⁸

A freedman or freedwoman could be named as the patron's heir, and this would have been an obvious improvement of a personal situation, whether the inheritance involved money or property. Aurelia Pervinca, whom Marcus Aurelius Ianuarius in Lyon named as his freedwoman and heir, may have inherited everything her legionary veteran patron owned.⁵⁹ This may have

⁵⁴ *CIL* VI. 8783/*ILS* 1735.

⁵⁵ Taylor 1961: 122.

⁵⁶ *CIL* VI. 1961/*ILS* 1946.

⁵⁷ *CIL* VI. 20718/*ILS* 849.

⁵⁸ *CIL* VI. 40911/Friggeri 2001: 50, fig. 4. See Gordon 1931 on upward mobility amongst freedmen.

⁵⁹ *CIL* XIII. 1842.

included his army savings, his retirement bonus, and any other investments he might have made. The freedwoman Vithannia Nice, who was also the wife of T. Flavius Vithannius, a veteran of *Legio XXX*, had to share Vithannius' property with two other heirs.⁶⁰ In the absence of blood relatives, freedmen might be the closest 'family' to whom the inheritance was given. Tiberius Claudius Amandus, a wealthy freedman in Lyon, appointed his two freed slaves, Claudius Peregrinus and Claudius Primigenius, as his heirs.⁶¹ Occasionally we find soldiers far away from home and family leaving their property to their freedmen who had been with them on their postings around the empire. Thus, a centurion in Chester left his property to his freedman, Aristio.⁶² Publius Aelius Bassus, a centurion of *Legio XX* from Thrace, named two of his freedmen as his heirs on his gravestone from Watercrock, and another soldier far from his home in Novara in northern Italy bequeathed everything to his freedmen in York.⁶³

It was not uncommon for businessmen to manumit their slaves and leave them their business or enter a partnership with them. Mouritsen has demonstrated that there is a direct link between the wealth and social status of a freedman and the social standing and affluence of the patron. The rich freedman who acquired his great wealth on his own, from scratch, did not exist, rather an initial input of capital from the patron was needed to enable the freedman to establish and run a successful business.⁶⁴ The patron benefited from the success of his freedmen too, both financially and as a reflection on himself and his family's name. Lucius Betulonium Amandus from Carnuntum, whom Jean Krier identified as a Treveran merchant, left his property, probably his firm, to his freedman Betulonium Creticus around AD 100.⁶⁵ Presumably Creticus had worked for Amandus and even may have managed the firm before his patron died. The epitaph of Quintus Magius Zosimus, a *sevir Augustalis* in Nîmes, named his freedman, Epitynchanus, as his heir.⁶⁶ Epitynchanus gained a great deal by this inheritance. According to the text of his own funerary inscription, Epitynchanus was thereafter wealthy and influential enough to hold a post as a *sevir Augustalis* and be awarded honours by the city of Nîmes.⁶⁷ The freedman Marcus Antonius Sacer in Lyon was a *sevir*, and through inheritance or business connections forged by Sacer his two freedmen also became well-situated enough to become *seviri* themselves.⁶⁸ The close ties and relationships between masters, slaves, and freedmen are well illustrated by Sacer's epitaph. He not only had two freedmen, Polytimus and Candidus, but also a freedwoman, Tyche, whom he had freed and

⁶⁰ *CIL* XIII. 1858.

⁶¹ *CIL* XIII. 1943.

⁶² *RIB* 509.

⁶³ *RIB* 680, 754.

⁶⁴ Mouritsen 2001b: 12–14.

⁶⁵ *CIL* III. 4499/Krier 1981: 50.

⁶⁶ *CIL* XII. 3250.

⁶⁷ *CIL* XII. 3249.

⁶⁸ *CIL* XIII. 1936.

married. Polytimus also had three freedmen (Olympicus, Quietus and...aris), one of whom married the freedwoman of Tyche. This close-knit group was buried together in a communal tomb.

The upward mobility of freedmen who could count on the prestige and influence of their aristocratic patrons in furthering their careers is often made explicit in funerary epitaphs. We can examine one of these—the epitaph to Cytisus and his wife Culicina in Rome—in detail.⁶⁹

Q FABIVS AFRICANI L CYTIVS	ET
VIATOR QVAESTORIVS AB AERARIO	LIVIAE DIVAE
SCR LIBR TRIBVNICIVS SCR LIBR	AUG L
QVAESTORIVS TRIVM DECURIARVM	CULICINAE
C CALPETANVS C L CRYPHIVS VIATOR	PLASIDIENA L F
PVLLARIVS PRIOR VIR CULICINAE	AGRESTINA
L NVPIDIVS L L PHILOMELVS SCR LIBR	CALPETANI LIVIANI
Q III DECURIARVM CYSTI	PRIMI PIL
FRATER PIVS ET FIDELIS	
C PROCVLEIVS C L HERACLEO	
CULICINAE PATER	
PROCVLEIA STIBAS MATER CULICINAE	

This translates as: 'Quintus Fabius Cytisus, freedman of Quintus Fabius Africanus, treasury messenger, later a scribe copyist to the tribunes and the quaestors. Gaius Calpetanus Cryphius, freedman of Gaius, messenger of the keeper of the sacred chickens, first husband of Culicina. Lucius Numpidius Philomelus, freedman of Lucius, scribe copyist to the quaestors, dutiful and loyal brother of Cytisus. Gaius Proculcius Heracleo, freedman of Gaius, father of Culicina. Proculcia Stibas, mother of Culicina. And Culicina, freedwoman of the divine empress Livia. Plasidiana Agrestina, daughter of Lucius, (wife of) Calpetanus Livianus, chief centurion.' Cytisus' patron and former illustrious owner was Quintus Fabius Africanus, consul in 10 BC, and Cytisus held a number of posts in the administration. His freedman brother, L. Numpidius Philomelus, also was a scribe copyist in the administration. Cytisus married a freedwoman of the empress Livia named Culicina. Culicina's former freedman husband, C. Calpetanus Cryphius did not have such a prestigious position in the civil service, although he had been a messenger of the keeper of the sacred chickens.⁷⁰ The freeborn son of Cryphius and Culicina, Calpetanus Livianus, married a freeborn woman, Plasidiana Agrestina, and he became a fairly high-ranking officer in the army. The imperial and noble connections of Cytisus and Culicina had clearly benefited the careers of this family of former slaves.

⁶⁹ *CIL* VI. 1815/*ILS* 1926.

⁷⁰ His patron was probably Gaius Calpetanus Statius Rufus, the magistrate in charge of the banks and riverbed of the Tiber in AD 24, known from *CIL* VI. 1237.

SEEKING LEGITIMACY THROUGH FUNERARY DISPLAY

Freedmen had a greater need for legitimacy than the freeborn, because there were fewer 'respectable' avenues for social improvement open to them in life. This, in part, explains the frequency with which freedmen are represented in the epigraphic record. Heinzelmann's study of the cemeteries outside the Porta Romana and on the Via Laurentina at Ostia has demonstrated that in the first centuries BC and AD, only about 20 per cent of the funerary inscriptions commemorate freeborn Romans; the vast majority (about 80 per cent) belonged to freedmen.⁷¹ This cannot be interpreted simply as an indication of a disproportionately large portion of the population with a servile origin. At least in death ex-slaves could 'correct' the social inequality they encountered by being publicly and respectably commemorated. This could manifest itself also in the size of the monuments. In fact, if we look at the funerary altars in Lyon, by far the largest ones up to 2.55 m in height are those belonging to freedmen who held important posts in the community.⁷² Only one monument of this type in Lyon is comparable in size to those of the freedmen, and this belonged to a freeborn Treveran merchant and his wife.⁷³ Only one is larger (2.85 m), and that was set up for a veteran of *Legio I Minervia*.⁷⁴ The altars of the majority of legionary veterans, merchants, and even municipal magistrates in Lyon, generally ranging in height between 0.92 and 1.78 m, appear considerably more modest in comparison.⁷⁵

Not being eligible to hold magistracies and other public offices, freedmen often sought to further themselves in commercial ventures. Funerary epitaphs from Rome are striking in that so many of them commemorate freedmen, mainly of the working and middle class. Joshel, who studied inscriptions with occupational details in Rome, suggested that the naming of an occupation shifted 'attention from birth and honour to productive activities and relations' of the servile working class.⁷⁶ A wide variety of professions is named in these inscriptions. They range, in the retail food branch, from sellers of ducks, fish, and meat, to merchants in olive oil, wine, and honey.⁷⁷ One suspects that

⁷¹ Heinzelmann 2000: 104. Even in the 2nd and 3rd cents., freedmen are better represented with 55.4% of the commemorative inscriptions. See also Mouritsen 2005 on freedmen in other Italian cemeteries.

⁷² *CIL* XIII. 2026; *CIL* XIII. 1942.

⁷³ *CIL* XIII. 1988.

⁷⁴ *CIL* XIII. 1844.

⁷⁵ *CIL* XIII. 1858, 1899, 1906, 1924, 2000.

⁷⁶ Joshel 1992: 60.

⁷⁷ Ducks: *CIL* VI. 9143/*ILS* 7498; fish: *CIL* VI. 9801/*ILS* 7500; meat: *CIL* VI. 9499; oil: *CIL* VI. 9718/*ILS* 7491; wine: *CIL* VI. 9993/*ILS* 7485; honey: *CIL* VI. 9618/*ILS* 7497.

some of the grander sounding *negotiatores* were really just vendors, rather than traders. Abudia Megiste, the *negotiatrice* in corn and vegetables with her base of operations 'at the middle stairs' (*ab scala mediana*) in Rome, more likely had a well-run shop than a large trading business.⁷⁸ In the clothing and textile business, sellers of wool, cloaks, slippers, and general clothing as well as purple dye are represented.⁷⁹ Freedmen are found selling pearls, crowns, baskets, and glue.⁸⁰ Freedman craftsmen include marble masons and goldsmiths, as well as specialists such as scene painters in the theatre, eye doctors, and hairdressers.⁸¹ Some of these professions also were practised by freeborn men and women, and by individuals whose libertine or freeborn status is not made clear in the epitaphs. Whilst such epitaphs reflect an industrious and moderately successful libertine middle class, by comparison the ostentatious funerary monument of Eurysaces in Rome, the freedman baker and an official supplier of bread to the state, is testimony to a truly successful career that is emphasized and proudly advertised.⁸²

These inscriptions from Rome are also interesting for the occasional inclusion of the location of the shops and businesses the deceased had run, giving us some idea of the main commercial areas and the kinds of activity that were prevalent there (see Appendix, No. 23). If the naming of the occupation compensated for a second-class standing in society, the naming of the location of that exercised occupation embedded the individual in a particular location where others of similar standing and status lived out their public lives. It also suggests some kind of group belonging and communal identity, an identity that focused on work and the working community to which many of the freedmen belonged. This is particularly clear when some freedmen and freedwomen chose to be buried together as a group, especially if they all had the same occupation and address in life. Thus, five fellow merchants of gems on the Via Sacra in Rome are commemorated and buried together.⁸³ A small selection of stones with such topographical references

⁷⁸ *CIL* VI. 9683/*ILS* 7488.

⁷⁹ Wool: *CIL* VI. 9491/*ILS* 7556; *CIL* VI. 33870/*ILS* 7471; cloaks: *CIL* VI. 33906/*ILS* 7584/*Friggeri* 2001: 133, fig. 1; slippers: *CIL* VI. 9284/*ILS* 7547; clothing: *CIL* VI. 4476/*ILS* 7569; *CIL* I². 1268/*Friggeri* 2001: 52, fig. 6; purple dye: *AE* 1923: 59/*Friggeri* 2001: 85, fig. 5.

⁸⁰ Pearls: *CIL* VI. 9545/*ILS* 7602; *CIL* VI. 9546–9; crowns: *CIL* VI. 9283/*ILS* 7617; baskets: *CIL* VI. 9456/*ILS* 7653; glue: *CIL* VI. 9443/*ILS* 7657.

⁸¹ Marble masons: *CIL* VI. 7814/*ILS* 7678; goldsmiths: *CIL* VI. 9208/*ILS* 7686; *CIL* I². 3011a/*Friggeri* 2001: 52, fig. 7; *CIL* I². 3005/*Friggeri* 2001: 61; *AE* 1939: 154/*Friggeri* 2001: 141, fig. 5; Scene painters: *CIL* VI. 9794/*ILS* 7672; eye doctors: *CIL* VI. 33157/*ILS* 7809; hairdressers: *CIL* VI. 9940/*ILS* 7619.

⁸² *CIL* I². 1203–6/*CIL* VI. 1958/*ILS* 7460a and 7460d/*Degrassi* 1965: No. 306/*Friggeri* 2001: 63, fig. 12; Nash 1962: 329–32, figs. 1096–1102; Ciancio Rossetto 1973; Eisner 1986: 92–4, pls. 36.1–3; *LTUR* 4, 1999, 301–2, figs. 154–7 (Ciancio Rossetto).

⁸³ *CIL* VI. 9435.

follows, although there are many more examples. We know of a *vicus Iugarius*, a sector between the Forum Romanum and the Forum Boarium at the foot of the Capitoline hill, where a merchant in purple dye (*purpurarius*) was based.⁸⁴ The district of *Velabrum* between the river and the Palatine hill is where the freedmen P. Sergius Demetrius and Gaius Clodius Euphemus sold wine.⁸⁵ On the Via Sacra on the south-east edge of the Forum Romanum the goldsmith Marcus Caedicius Eros plied his trade.⁸⁶ On the same road Sellia Epyre had a shop where she manufactured and sold garments decorated with gold: *officina* *Sacra Via / aurivestrix*.⁸⁷ Also located on the Via Sacra was the shop of Gaius Ateilius Euhodus, a merchant in pearls (*margaritarius*), as well as that of Lucius Albius Thaumella, a dealer in precious gems (*gemmarius*).⁸⁸ Clearly the Via Sacra was the location of many merchants in luxury items.

Aulus Calvus, a freedman and clothing merchant (*vestiarius*) had a shop 'near the sacred grove of the goddess Libitina' (*ab luco Libitina*) just outside the Porta Esquilina on the eastern side of the city.⁸⁹ Gaius Vergilius Gentius, a freedman wool merchant (*lanius*), was also based in this location, suggesting that commercial activity involving wool and textiles was concentrated here.⁹⁰ But trade in clothing was also found in the warehouses of Agrippa (*horrea Agrippiana*) near the *vicus Tuscus* on the road that led from the Tiber docks to the Forum Romanum.⁹¹ The freedwoman Aurelia Nais was a fish vendor in the Galba warehouse (*piscatrix de horreis Galbae*), one of many large complexes on the banks of the Tiber below the Aventine hill in Regio XIII.⁹² In the same complex the freedman Aulus Cornelius Priscus, a maker or merchant of woollen cloaks (*sagarius*) had his business, as did Gaius Tullius Crescens who sold marble (*negotiator marmorarius*).⁹³

Very successful freedmen, who had amassed a fortune enabling them to be patrons of guilds and corporations, could use their wealth and influence to gain access to the board of priests tending the imperial cult. In Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdunensis, freedmen made up more than 25 per

⁸⁴ AE 1923: 59/Friggeri 2001: 85, fig. 5.

⁸⁵ CIL VI. 9993/ILS 7485; CIL VI. 9671/ILS 7487.

⁸⁶ CIL I². 3005/Friggeri 2001, 61. Other goldsmiths on the Via Sacra: CIL VI. 9207/ILS 7685; CIL VI. 9212/ILS 7693.

⁸⁷ CIL VI. 9214/ILS 7692/Friggeri 2001: 141, fig. 6.

⁸⁸ CIL VI. 9545/ILS 7602; CIL VI. 9434/ILS 7708. Other pearl and gem merchants in this location: CIL VI. 9546–9; CIL VI. 9283.

⁸⁹ CIL I². 1268/Friggeri 2001: 52, fig. 6.

⁹⁰ CIL VI. 33870/ILS 7471.

⁹¹ CIL VI. 9972/ILS 7571; CIL VI. 33923/ILS 7575; CIL VI. 9976.

⁹² CIL VI. 9801/ILS 7500/Friggeri 2001: 137.

⁹³ CIL VI. 33906/ILS 7584/Friggeri 2001: 133, fig. 1; CIL VI. 33886/ILS 7539. For a discussion of shop locations, see Joshel 1992: 106–12.

cent of the men holding these positions.⁹⁴ These *seviri Augustales* were also marine shippers, river shippers, contractors, timber wholesalers, or merchants in a variety of commodities such as pottery, grain, pickled foodstuffs, clothing, wool, purple dye, gold, silverware and glass, oil and wine (see Appendix, Nos. 5, 21).⁹⁵ Through patronage, but also through the chosen forms of funerary commemoration, they legitimized and displayed their social standing. A funerary inscription from Assisi in central Italy gives us a glimpse of the kind of contributions and benefactions involved in being a *sevir Augustalis* and a patron. The freedman Publius Decimius Eros Merula, surgeon and eye-doctor, paid HS 2,000 for the privilege of being a member of the board of priests of the emperor, after having paid HS 50,000 for his freedom; he also donated HS 30,000 for statues in the temple of Hercules, and he gave HS 37,000 for the paving of roads in the city. Despite this strain on his finances, he left an estate of HS 500,000 at his death.⁹⁶

Freeborn citizens of the equestrian and senatorial class were far more likely to have illustrious public careers and function as benefactors in their community. They were also more likely to receive civic honours and be recipients of statues and honorific monuments donated by the local government. Of course, freedmen could use their wealth to finance various public projects and be given honorary titles and benefits (*ornamenta*) that could extend to their freeborn sons.⁹⁷ Freedmen without illustrious connections or great sums of money generally had to make do with inscriptions on their tombs, rather than on public monuments, that claimed a place for them in society. We can compare the epitaph of a wealthy freeborn magistrate of the second century from Arles with that of a contemporary wealthy freedman from the same city. Although both men were well off and influential, different aspects of their lives are stressed in their epitaphs.

The epitaph of the magistrate in Arles reads:⁹⁸

D M
Q IULIO Q FIL
TERET MEMORI

⁹⁴ Daubigney and Favory 1974: 352.

⁹⁵ Marine shippers: *CIL* XII. 982, 1942, 4398; river shippers: *CIL* XII. 1005; *CIL* XIII. 704, 1966, 1972; contractor: *CIL* XII. 4398; timber wholesaler: *CIL* XIV. 296; pottery merchant: *CIL* XIII. 1945; grain merchant: *CIL* XIII. 1972; merchant in pickled foodstuffs: *CIL* XIII. 1966; clothing merchants: *CIL* VI. 33906; *CIL* XII. 3202/Wierschowski 2001: no. 219; *CIL* XII. 4422; wool merchant: *CIL* XI. 862; purple dye merchant: *CIL* III. 5824; gold merchant: *CIL* XII. 4391/*ILS* 7704; merchant in silverware and glass: *CIL* XIII. 1948; oil and wine merchants: *CIL* VI. 29722, *CIL* XIII. 1921.

⁹⁶ *ILS* 7812.

⁹⁷ *CIL* X. 4760/Kleijwegt 1992: 132.

⁹⁸ *CIL* XII. 696.

AEDIL II VIR
 PONT ET FL COL IUL
 AREL IUL LICINI
 ANUS PARENTI
 DULCISSIMO

‘To the spirits of the dead and to Quintus Iulius Memor, son of Quintus, voting district of Teretina, aedile, duovir, pontiff, and priest of the Colonia Iulia Arelate. Iulius Licinianus (set this up) for his dearest parent.’

The funerary inscription of the freedman in Arles reads (Fig. 73):⁹⁹



Figure 73. Funerary altar of Gaius Paquius Pardalas, freedman and *sevir Augustalis* in Arles, 2nd century AD. Musée de l'Arles Antique

⁹⁹ CIL XII. 700.

D M
 C PAQUI OPTATI
 LIB PARDALAE IIIII
 AUG COL IUL PAT AR
 PATRONO EIUSDEM
 CORPOR ITEM PATRON
 FABROR NAVAL UTRICLAR
 ET CENTONAR C PAQUIUS
 EPIGONUS CUM LIBERIS SUIS
 PATRONO OPTIME MERITO.

'To the spirits of the dead and of Gaius Paquius Pardalas, freedman of (Gaius Paquius) Optatus, priest of the imperial cult in the Colonia Iulia Paterna Arelate, patron of this corporation, and also patron of the ship-builders, the river bargers, and the makers of quilts [for extinguishing fires]. Gaius Paquius Epigonus and his children set this up to their patron for his glorious services.'

Memor was freeborn, had Roman citizenship, and was registered in the voting district of Teretina in which Arles was located. His various offices in government as an aedile and as one of two senior magistrates stand out, and his religious offices in Arles are also highlighted. He is commemorated by his freeborn son. It is clearly understood that the services he rendered were for the good of the citizens in his community as a whole. Pardalas, on the other hand, was an ex-slave who had taken his name from his former owner, Gaius Paquius Optatus. He was commemorated not by a blood relative, but by his own freedman and his freedman's children. Pardalas held no magistracies, but he was a member of the local college of priests of the emperor, an office often reserved for freedmen. He used his influence to benefit a specific sector of the community—the craftsmen and traders—of which he undoubtedly was an active and leading member. He is clearly a patron, and almost certainly in that position because he was well-situated to support generously the corporations that contributed to the commercial success of the city. His connections to corporations of traders with far-flung interests and the city government gave him influence, power, and standing in society.

What one must read between the lines in the funerary inscription of Memor, however, is that he was in the position to be a leader in local government because he too had the wealth to do so. Being freeborn was not enough. Such offices carried honour, but also the expectation of financial contributions to public works and festivals. The fact that he held more than one magistracy and more than one priestly post underlines his belonging to the upper echelons of society just as much as his free birth. His son, Licinia-

nus, by publicly honouring his father, clearly also claimed his place in the network of social relationships in the community.

ROMANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN GAUL

The inscription quoted at the beginning of this chapter indicates that after the Roman conquest of Gaul the native elite could hold typically Roman offices in local government, but also traditional Gallic magistracies that were in existence before the conquest. Gaius Iulius Marinus, who is commemorated in this epitaph from Saintes in Gallia Aquitania, held several posts. His father's name, Gaius Iulius Ricoveriugus, suggests that someone in his almost certainly aristocratic family from the tribe of the Santones had been granted Roman citizenship at the time of Iulius Caesar in the mid-first century BC. The *cognomen*, Ricoveriugus, is Celtic. In addition to being a *flamen Augustalis* (priest of the imperial cult), curator of the body of Roman citizens, and *quaestor*, Marinus was also a *vergobret*. A *vergobret* at the time of Caesar was an annually elected magistrate who had the power of life and death over his people, but in the Roman period, the office of *vergobret* might have been associated with that of *quaestor*, a post in charge of the financial affairs of the community.¹⁰⁰ This reflects a social change in Gaul, away from kingship to elected magistrates, a change resulting from Roman influence. At any rate, the career illuminated in the epitaph of Marinus reflects the adoption of the Roman career pattern and, at the same time, the retention of Gallic offices of importance to the local nobility, all of the posts named in the inscription being based on wealth, land ownership, and standing in society.

A pattern of social change also can be recognized in the adoption of Roman names or the retention of non-Roman names as they appear in funerary inscriptions. Apollonius, writing to the Spartans at the time of Hadrian, was particularly critical of the habit of exchanging traditional names for Roman ones: 'But most of you have even abandoned your names, and... you have forfeited all the symbols of your ancestors... For those who were formerly named after heroes, sea-captains and legislators are now called Lucullus and Fabricius and other blessed Lucanian names.'¹⁰¹ For Apollonius, such individuals hardly deserved to be called Greeks, and he thought it was no wonder that their ancestors should no longer recognize them. In the Roman West, whole-scale or partial adoption of Roman names is evident in funerary epitaphs. Gaius Iulius Ricoveriugus is an example of this process. The Gallic and Roman names of other families in the same *civitas* of the Santones are recorded in

¹⁰⁰ Cunliffe 1997: 231–2; Drinkwater 1983: 108.

¹⁰¹ *Letters* 71.

other texts. The inscription on the mausoleum of Gaius Iulius Victor (the elder) in Saintes informs us that he was the son of (Gaius Iulius) Congonnetodubnus and the grandson of (Gaius Iulius) Agedomopas. Gaius Iulius Victor (the younger) had the tomb built between AD 31 and 50.¹⁰² The names of the father and grandfather of the elder Victor are Celtic; Congonnetodubnus would have lived in the late first century BC, and Agedomopas would have been a contemporary of Caesar. The elder Victor had a stellar career as a *praefectus fabrum* (an aide-de-camp of the Roman provincial governor), as a military tribune of the *Cohors I Belgarum*, and as a priest (*sacerdos*) of Rome and Augustus at the pan-Gallic sanctuary in Lyon. This Romanized aristocratic family obtained Roman citizenship under Gaius Iulius Caesar in the first century BC, and held positions of prominence based on their elevated social standing and their loyalty to the emperor. According to Drinkwater, as late as the death of Nero in AD 68 the leading Gallo-Roman families with the same *nomen* of Iulius, and often the same *praenomen* of Gaius, were the controlling force in the society of the Three Gauls.¹⁰³

The partial adoption of Roman names over three generations by individuals lower down on the social scale can be recognized in the funerary inscriptions of the family of the Viromanduan Bienus and his wife Ingenua from northern Gaul (Fig. 39).¹⁰⁴ These four gravestones set up in Cologne (see Chapter 4) probably date to the period just after the mid-first century AD. The parents of Ingenua and Bienus all had Celtic names (Ocellio and Exomna, Gatus and Demionca), as did their grandfathers (Illanuo and Cabirus). Ocellio and Exomna had given their daughters Ingenua and Optata Roman names when they were born, possibly around AD 20. Gatus and Demionca, on the other hand, continued to use Celtic names for their children (Bienus, Athamas, and Atrectus) at about the same time. A family of Treveri from the Moselle region recorded on a single gravestone of the mid-first century AD in Cologne also has names reflecting the gradual adoption of Roman nomenclature.¹⁰⁵ Although the parents have Latinized Celtic names, the children and grandchildren were given both Roman names, such as Donata, Germanus, Iucundus, and Annia, and Celtic names, such as Urabucius and Cicla. In the mid-first century AD, Celtic names such as Menimane, Blussus, Bonicia, Samocna, Suadulla, and Smertuca can also be found in civilian funerary epitaphs in Mainz.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the auxiliary soldiers from various

¹⁰² *CIL* XIII. 1042–5. ¹⁰³ Drinkwater 1978: 822.

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* XIII. 8341, 8342, 8409/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 312, 313, 346/Wierschowski 2001: no. 578.

¹⁰⁵ *AE* 1974: 463/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 311/Krier 1981: 38/Wierschowski 2001: no. 21.

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* XIII. 7067/Selzer 1988: 110; *CIL* XIII. 11876/Selzer 1988: 97; *CIL* XIII. 11888/Selzer 1988: 101; *CIL* XIII. 7117/Selzer 1988: 102; *CSIR* II, 6. 26/Selzer 1988: 119.

parts of the empire stationed in Mainz often had a Latin version of a non-Roman name, such as Sterio (from Raetia), Fronto (an Ubian) (Fig. 74), Silius, or Petronius Disacetus (a Thracian?), and fathers (or mothers) whose names reveal their non-Roman origins.¹⁰⁷ These include Eximnia, Atto, Dregenius, Massa, Clusiodus, and Sedavo, to name a few.¹⁰⁸

The choice to adopt not just a Roman name, but also the Roman form of funerary commemoration with a Latin epitaph reflects a profound change in social identity. Particularly illuminating in regard to the progressive changes in the expression of cultural identity is a *tumulus* or barrow tomb of a native Celtic family of the mid-first century AD near modern Nickenich on the middle Rhine.¹⁰⁹ The *tumulus*, with a masonry sockle seven metres in diameter, was adorned with a large Latin inscription commemorating a woman



Figure 74. Grave *stele* of the auxiliary soldier Fronto, son of Dregenus, early 1st century AD. Father and son were from the Germanic tribe of the Ubii and had Latinized native names. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

¹⁰⁷ CSIR II, 5. 76/Selzer 1988: 73; CSIR II, 5. 162/Selzer 1988: 76; Selzer 1988: 74; CIL XIII. 7052/Selzer 1988: 89.

¹⁰⁸ CSIR II, 5. 76/Selzer 1988: 73; Selzer 1988: 74; CIL XIII. 7024/Selzer 1988: 76; CIL XIII. 7024/Selzer 1988: 78; CIL XIII. 11868/Selzer 1988: 85; CIL XIII. 7025/Selzer 1988: 86.

¹⁰⁹ Neuffer 1932*a*; Neuffer 1932*b*; Weisgerber 1933*a*; Weisgerber 1933*b*; Bauchhenß 1975: 91–4, pl. 34.

named Contuinda, daughter of Esucco, and her son Silvanus Ategnissa. The names of the woman and her father are purely Celtic, but the son has both a Latin (Silvanus) and a Celtic (Ategnissa) name. The monument itself is a mixture between an old Iron Age form of barrow burial known in this region and a type of *tumulus* with a masonry base built in Italy in the late Republican and early Imperial periods. Even more remarkable is a second monument with no local Iron Age forerunners that was erected right next to the *tumulus* and decorated with statues of the deceased (Fig. 75). The middle niche is filled with two statues of a woman and a young boy. These are almost certainly Contuinda and her son Silvanus Ategnissa. She wears a Roman cloak (*palium*), but it is draped over native Celtic costume, complete with neck rings (*torques*) and other Celtic jewellery. The boy, on the other hand, wears completely Roman dress, a short tunic (*tunica*) and a cloak over it. Two other adult men are represented as statues, and both wear Roman dress, the



Figure 75. Funerary monument of the Celtic woman Contuinda and her son Silvanus Ategnissa in Nickenich, mid-1st century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn

one on the right even sporting a toga as a symbol of full Roman citizenship. Both men and the boy hold a scroll in one hand, either the document confirming their Roman citizenship or a will which only Roman citizens were entitled to write. Like Bienus in Cologne, Contuinda in Nickenich belonged to a generation still rooted in Celtic tradition that publicly was adopting at least some Roman cultural symbols. They chose Roman forms of permanent memorials and the Latin language to preserve the memory of their families for posterity in a community which, at this time, was dominated by Roman soldiers and veterans and immigrants from Italy and the Romanized western regions.

Clearly, the first century AD in the Gallic and German provinces was a period of adjustment and partial Romanization in personal nomenclature. Albanus, a native of the Cologne region (*natione Ubius*), who served in the *ala Asturum* and was buried in the first half of the first century AD in Cavaillon in southern France, bore the name of his father, Excingus (*Albanus Excingi f.*).¹¹⁰ The root of this family name survives elsewhere in Gaul in names such as Excingilla and Excingillus recorded in epitaphs.¹¹¹ This use of a single name followed by the filiation in the genitive case (son/daughter of...) was common throughout Gaul, particularly in the less urbanized and more remote regions.¹¹² We can see this system functioning in areas such as the regions around Metz, Bordeaux, Bourges, Bavai, and Saverne, for example, where names such as Suarigillus, son of Vassillus (*Suarigillus Vassilli filius*), Capellinus, son of Caprasus (*Capellinus Caprasi filius*), or Sacurilla, daughter of Sammo (*Sacurilla Sammonis filia*) are recorded.¹¹³ The combination of native and Roman names continued in the centuries thereafter. We might think of the Treveran *negotiator*, Marcus Excingius Agricola, who was engaged in cross-channel trade in the late second century and whose *praenomen* and *cognomen* are Roman, but whose *nomen* is decidedly Celtic.¹¹⁴ His *cognomen* had become his personal name, his *nomen* a sort of patronym as an adjectival form of his father's *cognomen*.

Using the information in funerary epitaphs in the four Gallic and the German provinces, Hatt recognized the prevalence (up to 75 per cent) of indigenous names in villages, small towns, and mountainous areas in these

¹¹⁰ CIL XIII. 2613.

¹¹¹ CIL XII. 3370, 5008.

¹¹² Hatt 1951: 32. On the similarities in the construction of names in Spain, see Untermann 1993: 115–16.

¹¹³ Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 4382; CIL XIII. 4433/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 4361; CIL XIII. 4354/Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 4379; Espérandieu 1907–22: no. 1479. On changing names in the Moselle region, see Freigang 1997b: 356–8.

¹¹⁴ AE 1973: 362/Krier 1981: 41/Wierschowski 2001: no. 18. On name formation in Gaul, see Drinkwater 1978: 846–7.

regions.¹¹⁵ In contrast, these made up less than 10 per cent in large cosmopolitan cities and administrative centres such as Narbonne, Arles, and Lyon. But he also was able to recognize that Celtic names increased in number in the course of the second and third centuries in southern Gaul in Narbonne, towns along the Rhône, and on the Ligurian coast as a result of the migration of country dwellers to the towns in search of employment and better economic prospects.

Roman names, or Roman-sounding names, could be adopted or grafted onto the original name for a variety of reasons. First, soldiers from Gallic or Germanic regions with (for the Roman army scribes) sometimes unpronounceable native names often adopted a name that sounded Roman when they enlisted. The Germanic bodyguard of the Julio-Claudian emperors in Rome have 'official' names such as Bassus, Postumus, Nobilis, and Phoebus, names they certainly were not given at birth on the lower Rhine (see Appendix, No. 16; Fig. 47).¹¹⁶ The adoption of a Roman name is most strikingly documented in a second-century letter on papyrus from an Egyptian soldier who had just been recruited for the Roman fleet at Misenum in Italy. Apion, as he was called before he became a Roman soldier, tells his father in Egypt in this letter, 'My name is Antonius Maximus', and he signs the letter with 'Apion', but in a later letter to his sister Sabina he uses only his Roman name.¹¹⁷

Secondly, both soldiers and the civilian population often adopted names that were not true family or *gens* names, but were pseudo-family names ending in 'ius' or 'inius', particularly in the Rhineland and the Gallic hinterland. These include, for example, Acutius, Verecundinius, Secundinius, Simplicinius, Parridius, Bratonius, and Carantodius.¹¹⁸ The earliest known 'inius' formation of a name appears in a funerary epitaph from Baden Baden in southern Germany commemorating a man from Cologne, Lucius Reburrius Candidus, who served in the *cohors XXVI voluntariorum civium Romanum* before AD 89.¹¹⁹ This type of name can be found for a mother and her son and daughter on their third-century gravestone in Cologne: Superinius Rusticus, Superinia Superba, and Ingenuinia Iunia.¹²⁰

The adoption of a Romanized name, however, may not tell us much about the adoption of other Roman customs or how Romanized the individual

¹¹⁵ Hatt 1951: 28–31.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* VI. 4337/*ILS* 1718; *CIL* VI. 8809/*ILS* 1726; *CIL* VI. 8806/*ILS* 1727; *CIL* VI. 8808/*ILS* 1728. On Ubian names, see Weisgerber 1968.

¹¹⁷ *BGU* 423, 632; Davies 1989: 20.

¹¹⁸ Hatt 1951: 36–7; Weisgerber 1968: 356.

¹¹⁹ *CIL* XIII. 6305/Weisgerber 1968: 413.

¹²⁰ *CIL* XIII. 8424/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 404. Numerous other examples exist: *CIL* XIII. 8352, 8422, 8423, 8430.

actually was. An inscription from Morken-Harff on the lower Rhine names a man called Leubo, the full name given as Marcus Iulius Vassileni f. Leubo.¹²¹ Leubo was the son of Vassilenus, and was probably known as such in his community, but a Roman *praenomen*, Marcus, and *nomen*, Iulius, were tacked onto his name (either casually or officially), names he may have used in a public context. Even Apion, the Egyptian man serving in the fleet on the Italian coast, signs his name in his personal correspondence to his family as 'Apion', yet whilst he is in the Roman community of soldiers he is known officially as 'Antonius Maximus'. Thus, there would seem to have been a public and a private persona for many individuals.

Although outside the geographical scope of this discussion, funerary inscriptions from North Africa are particularly illustrative of this duality of identity. Sergio Fontana's work on the inscriptions in the region of Leptis Magna demonstrates that the native Punic or the official Latin was used, depending on the intended audience of the texts.¹²² Whilst Latin was used alongside Punic in public inscriptions from 8 BC, and by the second century AD had entirely replaced Punic, in funerary inscriptions Latin only began to be used in the late first century AD, but just for those that were fixed to the exterior of the tombs where they were visible to all. In contrast, Latin texts do not appear on the ash urns inside the tomb before the early second century, and they never entirely replaced the Punic texts. Related to this public and private usage of language is the nomenclature of individuals. Although complete Latin names appear on the inscriptions of ash containers, most of them record only a single name that Fontana suggests was the name by which the deceased was known within the family. This is perhaps the North African equivalent to the behaviour of Leubo from the lower Rhine and Apion from Egypt who had public and private names, and quite probably a public and private identity, depending on the context.

¹²¹ Weisgerber 1968: 406.

¹²² Fontana 2001: 165–9.

Death on Earth, Life in Heaven

Here in peace rests Adiutor who, after accepting penitence, passed over to our Lord. He lived sixty-five years, seven months and fifteen days. He was buried on the ninth day of the kalends of January, in the year Anastasius was consul.

(Funerary epitaph from Aix-en-Provence, AD 492 or 517: *CIL* XII. 590)

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN ITALY AND THE WEST

The forms of commemoration of the dead in the Christian communities of the Roman empire differ from pagan traditions in sufficiently crucial and interesting ways to warrant a separate study of them as a conclusion to this book. Like the pagan funerary inscriptions, the epitaphs of Christians offer insights into the belief system, social structures, and forms of expressing the identity of the deceased. Under Theodosius in AD 392, Christianity became the official state religion, and all pagan cults were outlawed. From this time on, and especially after the conversion of the Frankish king Clovis in 496, Christianity rapidly spread in the Gallic and German provinces, and in Germany beyond the empire's former frontier. The largest body of Christian inscriptions, a calculated 30,000–35,000 surviving epitaphs, comes from Rome. These began to appear in the late second and early third centuries, and they range from inscribed, incised, or painted texts on simple stone slabs, tiles, and mortar seals on the niches (*loculi*) of inhumation burials in the more than sixty underground catacombs, to inscribed stone *stelae* and sarcophagi. Outside Rome in the western European provinces Christian funerary inscriptions are also represented, but they do not occur in numbers anything like those from the centre of the empire. Trier on the Moselle river, with its roughly 900 Christian epitaphs, for example, has the most comprehensive collection of funerary inscriptions in Gaul and Germany. Furthermore, Christian inscriptions are far outnumbered in the western provinces by their pagan counterparts. This is related to the late appearance of Christian

epigraphic commemoration in those regions in the late Empire, a time when even pagan funerary inscriptions had sharply declined in number. Nevertheless, the numbers of Christian inscriptions in Gaul and Spain rose steadily from the fourth to sixth centuries, only to decline again from the seventh century.¹

The earliest Christian funerary epitaphs are from Rome. Because of the sheer number of these inscriptions, and because they shed light on nascent and developing Christian forms of commemoration, the epitaphs from the capital have been the main focus of scholarly research. It is also to the Roman inscriptions that ten compilation volumes have been dedicated. These appeared from 1922 under the title *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (ICUR). The following sections examine Christian burial practices in Rome, but they also consider the range of tombs and monuments from major and minor towns in Italy and in the western provinces.

CHRISTIAN SEGREGATION IN DEATH

Roman burial grounds in the first two centuries AD were in use by both Christians and pagans. From the late second century, however, increasing numbers of Christians sought burial places together as a community, and by the third century, Jews living in Rome had begun to create cemeteries exclusively for members of their faith. Thus, we see a development in the empire's capital amongst the adherents of these two monotheistic religions: the desire for exclusivity and a united community became essential determining elements in the disposal of the dead and the practice of religious ritual.

Whilst from the first century BC wealthy pagan families and burial clubs buried their dependants and members in above-ground or partially submerged mausolea and *columbaria*, it was the Christian community that expanded considerably on this principle, laying out miles of rationally planned underground galleries dug out of the soft volcanic tuff by the *fossores* or grave-diggers to contain thousands of niches or *loculi* for the dead (Fig. 76). These catacombs (*catacumbae*, from the Greek *κατά κύμβας* or 'near the hollows' [of old stone quarries]) were the burial places exclusively of Christians. Some of these communal burial areas were based on donations of land or money by private individuals. Others appear to have been ecclesiastical foundations. An inscription from Velletri south of Rome records a private

¹ Handley 2003: 11–14, 181–5.



Figure 76. Incised depiction of a grave-digger (*fossor*) and a corpse wrapped in a shroud in the Christian catacomb of Commodilla in Rome

donation of money by Faltonia Hilaritas for the establishment of a Christian cemetery, and a similar separation of burial grounds for pagans and for Christians appears to have taken place in North Africa, according to Tertullian, at the very end of the second century.² Based on a remark by Origen, communal Christian cemeteries must have existed also in Alexandria in the early third century.³ Whether these early cemeteries with Christian burials were consecrated ground or not is perhaps not so important. As Handley points out, ‘a cemetery did not need to have been consecrated for it to have been “Christian”’.⁴ The old Roman tradition of streets of tombs above ground, tombs for people of all social classes and religious persuasions, was largely rejected by the Christian community, at least in Rome. However, some Christians in Rome continued to be buried in pagan cemeteries.

² *ILCV* 3681A/Fiocchi Nicolai 1999: 23, fig. 18; Tertullian, *To Scapula* 3. 1, *Apology* 39. 5–6.

³ *Homilies on Jeremiah* 4. 3. 16.

⁴ Handley 2003: 11.

Not only did burial take place in the complex underground and multi-storeyed labyrinths that were the catacombs, also ritual meals in memory of the deceased were celebrated here. Occasionally structural provisions, such as benches and altars, for banquets and liturgical celebrations survive, as in the case of the catacomb of S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia outside Rome where the *triclia*, a covered pergola for dining rituals in veneration of the saints Peter and Paul, is preserved. Sometimes graffiti were scratched into the walls by visitors who left a written reminder of the events. In the catacomb of Priscilla, one such incised inscription records a banquet of the faithful, a *refrigerium*, that took place in March 374.⁵ In the catacomb of Pamphilus on the old Via Salaria and in a gallery in the Maius cemetery on the Via Nomentana glass flasks and bowls were often fixed to the mortar sealing the exterior of the *loculus*. De Santis relates this to the rite of the *refrigerium*, although it is unlikely that many of these vessels had more than symbolic character.⁶ Their usefulness was rendered nil as they were intentionally broken when attached to the *loculus*.⁷ The exterior of a chamber on the lower floor of the catacomb of Pamphilus in Rome, for example, was decorated with more than twelve glass bowls, but as they were glued vertically to the walls these bowls can hardly have contained liquids any more than the broken individual vessels on other niches.⁸ Images of banquets and of vessels used for drinking and pouring on some of the marble *loculus* slabs and in the wall paintings of the catacombs may be evocative of the rite of *refrigerium* of chosen souls in the spiritual realm but, in the iconography they share with pagan dining scenes, they also allude to the banquet in domestic life and to that celebrated by friends and family in memory of the dead.⁹

Unlike the pagan community, Christians, out of charity and belief, aspired to grant even the poorest members of the community a proper burial. Rich families of senatorial rank who converted to Christianity occasionally provided financial support for the cemeteries. An official government law providing a burial allowance to the poor, like that introduced by Nerva in AD 97, was not necessary, since the community had its own funds to ensure a Christian burial to the members of the Church. Tertullian spoke of a communal fund created by the Christian community to which contributions were made by other Christians: 'Every man once a month brings some modest

⁵ *ICUR* IX. 24867. See Mazzoleni 1999: 180, fig. 176, for graffiti in S. Sebastiano (Rome).

⁶ De Santis 2000: 240.

⁷ Bisconti 1999: 80–1.

⁸ De Santis 2000: 239, fig. 24.1.

⁹ *ICUR* IV. 9913/De Santis 2000: 240, fig. 24.3; *ICUR* III. 6618/De Santis 2000: 240, fig. 24.4; Bisconti 1999: 109–13, figs. 124–30. On scenes of dining in a Christian context, see Dunbabin 2003: 175–202.

coin, or whenever he wishes, and only if he does wish, and if he can . . . You might call them trust funds of piety. For they are not spent upon banquets, nor drinking parties, nor thankless eating-houses, but to feed the poor and to bury them . . .'¹⁰ The Christian community obviously took the place of burial clubs or *collegia*, as we know them in Roman pagan society (see Chapter 2).

The first catacombs had a markedly egalitarian character, with all the tombs being of the same type and equally suitable for rich or poor. Display of status or self-representation, as we know it from non-Christian tombs, appears to have been rejected deliberately for ideological and religious reasons. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon that fragments of coloured glass, small bronze bells, ivory dolls, bone statuettes, shells, or coins were pressed into the mortar sealing the *loculus* when it was still moist.¹¹ These may have been ornamental or symbolic, but they might also have helped the visitor to find the *loculus* he was looking for in this labyrinth of almost identical niches, especially since the majority of sealing slabs on the *loculi* were not provided with an inscription naming the deceased within. In the course of the third and fourth centuries chambers (*cubicula*), often with wall paintings and masonry niches for sarcophagi, were sometimes opened along the galleries as privileged spaces for socially elevated or particularly revered individuals, such as popes and martyrs.

By the late fourth century, the catacombs in Rome had more or less ceased to expand. By this time, most of the communal burial places were located in large funerary basilicas and the neighbouring areas above ground. Some of these basilicas were established on the burial sites of saints; these include, among others, those of S. Sebastiano, S. Lorenzo, and the basilicas of Pope Julius and Pope Damasus on the Via Aurelia (S. Callisto, S. Felix II) and the Via Ardeatina.¹² The dated inscriptions in the catacombs suggest that by the first decades of the fifth century these communal burial grounds largely had been abandoned, apart from their use for devotional services associated with the burials of martyrs. In the seventh to ninth centuries, the transferral of the remains of martyrs to churches within the city resulted in the complete cessation of catacomb use.

In the western provinces catacombs are unknown, so where were Christians buried? A Christian community existed in Lyon in the late second century, forty members of which were martyred in 177 or later.¹³ Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, wrote in *Against the Heresies* about Christian communities in both

¹⁰ *Apology* 39. 5–6.

¹¹ Bisconti 1999: 78–82, figs. 82–7, 93; Mazzoleni 1999: 148, fig. 153.

¹² Focchi Nicolai 1999: 57–9.

¹³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5. 1. 1–5. 4. 3. On the Christian community in Lyon, see Barnes 1978; Thomas 1978.

of the German provinces in 180.¹⁴ Lists record bishops from the late third and particularly the early fourth century, in centres such as Trier, Cologne, and Mainz in Germany, and in Tongeren in Belgium, clearly indicating that there were Christian communities in those places.¹⁵ Trier, as an imperial residence of Constantine and his family, enjoyed imperial benefaction aimed at both secular and religious institutions, and the city had one of the earliest episcopal churches.¹⁶ There is no indication, however, that there were separate cemeteries for Christians; rather they were buried in pagan burial grounds that had been in use from the first century AD or, as in Lyon, they made use of land on which earlier pagan occupation had declined or ceased.¹⁷ One such cemetery outside the west gate of Avenches in Switzerland contained both pagan and Christian tombs. The presence of two drinking glasses inscribed *PIIE ZESAIS* (drink and you shall live) and *VIVAS IN DEO* (live in God) in a grave of the first half of the fourth century in this cemetery can be ascribed to a Christian.¹⁸ In Bonn an early memorial chapel (*cella memoriae*), established in the first half of the fourth century, was built in a pagan cemetery, possibly to commemorate the martyrs Cassius and Florentinus.¹⁹ Inside this building were benches and masonry tables used in funerary celebrations. On the site where the Bonn minster later was built, late Roman burials were found in a concentration around the chapel. In Cologne, memorial chapels were established in the late fourth and early fifth centuries in pagan cemeteries around the graves of martyrs. These grew into churches, of which St Gereon, St Severin, and St Ursula are examples.²⁰ In all towns and cities in the German provinces, early, and often very simple, churches begin to be established in the late fourth and early fifth centuries in old pagan cemeteries and in Roman buildings. Christian burials from this point are concentrated in those areas.

The stone slabs and tiles sealing the *loculi* in the catacombs of Rome frequently were made of reused material, sometimes only fragments of earlier monuments. Numerous inscriptions in Gaul and Germany also are carved on irregular, reused fragments of stone. For that reason many of the markers have a rather scrappy appearance (Fig. 77). Furthermore, the style of lettering and spelling exhibited in the Christian epitaphs suggest that the stone-cutters were not the most accomplished craftsmen or even particularly literate, although

¹⁴ *Against the Heresies* 1. 10. 2.

¹⁵ Boppert 1990: 244–6; Eck 1991: 252, 256–8.

¹⁶ Boppert 1990: 236–41; Kuhnen 1996.

¹⁷ Reynaud 1998: 94–6. On pagan and Christian funerary topography, see Dierkens and Périn 1997: 83–95.

¹⁸ Drack and Fellmann 1988: 308, fig. 295.

¹⁹ Horn 1987: 290; Paffgen and Ristow 1997a: 408, fig. 322; Gechter 2001: 175.

²⁰ Horn 1987: 290–4; Paffgen 1992: 83–96; Paffgen and Ristow 1997b: 152–6.

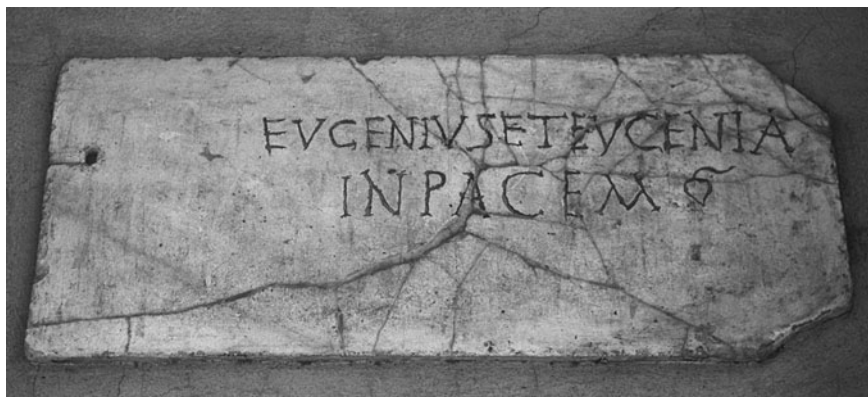


Figure 77. Christian epitaph carved on a reused slab of marble in the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Rome

Handley suggests that the Christian letter-cutters might have chosen the style they did to suggest humility, a recurring topos in Christian thought.²¹ Mistakes abound, and little attention seems to have been paid to centring words or keeping lines of text level. Furthermore, thousands of the Christian epitaphs in Rome were now written in Greek, the language of the liturgy, although there are the curious inscriptions with Latin words written in Greek letters. The epitaph of Siricus, found in the catacomb of S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia, for example, reads 'To Siricus, in peace' (*Sirice, in pace*), but it is written in Greek letters: *CIPIKE IN IIAKE*.²² The only inscriptions in Rome that stand out in quality and execution from the others are those commissioned by Pope Damasus (366–84) in honour of various saints and martyrs.²³ These inscriptions were carved by the calligrapher to the Pope, Furius Dionysius Philocalus.

THE LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLISM OF CHRISTIANITY

In the early days of Christianity, in the late second and early third centuries, there was little overt reference in funerary epitaphs to the adherence of the deceased to this faith. For one thing, many Christian epitaphs still began with the pagan introduction *Di Manes* or *Dis Manibus*, 'to the spirits of the dead'.²⁴ The fourth- or early fifth-century epitaph of Aurelius Aeliodorus in Tarragona

²¹ Handley 2003: 23.

²² *ICUR* V. 13214/Mazzoleni 1999: fig. 168.

²³ Mazzoleni 1999: 176–9.

²⁴ *ICUR* V. 15330; *ICUR* II. 4246.

in Spain begins with *D M*, but it ends with a typically Christian sentiment, 'retired faithfully in peace' (*recessit fidelis in pace*).²⁵ Even as late as the seventh century this opening invocation can be found next to a cross on a gravestone commemorating a man with the Germanic name of Baudoaldus in Kaiser-augst in Switzerland.²⁶ This could be a continuation of the Roman legal convention of placing the tomb under sacred protection, as the fear of violation of the tomb was no less real for Christians. In fact, given the belief that the body would be reunited with the soul in heaven, the fear of mutilation or destruction must have been even greater. The early third-century epitaph of the slave Marcus from S. Ermete in Rome ends with the request not to disturb the inscription (and, by association, his burial) 'in the name of the one God' (*per unum deum*).²⁷ Another similarity with pagan epitaphs is the retention of some stock phrases referring to the deceased as 'sweetest', 'most worthy', or 'incomparable'.²⁸ Even in the later third and fourth centuries, many epitaphs in Rome were still so generally worded that it is only the provenance of the stones that indicate they belonged to Christians.

But there are a number of formulations on tombstones from the fifth century onwards in the Gallic and Germanic provinces that are restricted to Christian inscriptions. A common expression introducing a Christian epitaph is *in hoc tumulo requiescit...* (in this tomb rests...), or variations on this theme.²⁹ Very often at the same time this introduction is followed by *in bone memorie* or *in pace in bone memorie*, referring to the peace of the deceased and the good memory he left behind (see Appendix, No. 25).³⁰ A standard introduction on the Christian epitaphs of the late fifth and sixth century in Arles is *hic in pace requiescit bone memoriae*.³¹ Even if the rest of the epitaph might be lost, this introduction is enough to distinguish a stone as a Christian one.

The particular language and style of Christian epitaphs took some time to develop, and this development was aided by the establishment, at least in Rome, of communal cemeteries where Christians as an exclusive community

²⁵ Alföldy 1975: 958, pl. CXLIV.1. A double-sided inscription of the late 3rd cent. in Cologne begins with *D M*, but parts of the text in their sentiments hint at Christian belief. The epitaph ends with the last words of the young Aurelius Timavius who tried to comfort his friend with the thought that his body would return to earth, but his spirit would ascend to heaven: *CIL* XIII. 8371/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 363.

²⁶ Drack and Fellmann 1988: 304, fig. 292.

²⁷ *ICUR* X. 27126.

²⁸ *CIL* VI. 9663; *CIL* XII. 960; *CIL* XII. 964; *CIL* XIII. 2353.

²⁹ *CIL* XIII. 8485/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 502.

³⁰ *CIL* XIII. 8481/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 494; *CIL* XII. 2063, 2069, 2070, 2081, 2088; *CIL* XIII. 2060/61, 2365, 2367, 2376, 2380, 2654.

³¹ *CIL* XII. 935, 936, 937, 938, 940, 941, 943, 945, 948, 950, 954, 955, 957, 962, 966, 967. See also the other Rhône towns of Vienne: *CIL* XII. 2057, 2062, 2071, and Lyon: *CIL* XIII. 2363.

were buried and where the commemorators could display a very uniform set of sentiments and symbols that were understood by that community. The texts of about 300 Latin and Greek inscriptions in the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome remained extremely simple until the mid-third century.³² Even the epitaph of the martyr St Hyacinth, who died in 258 and was buried in the cemetery of S. Ermete, bore only his name, the date of burial and the statement that he was a martyr: *d(e)p(ositus) III idus septe(m)br(es) / Yacinthus / martyr*.³³ The same phenomenon can be observed in the earliest Christian epitaphs in the western provinces. A simple inscription of the fourth century from Bonn gives the information that it was the tombstone of Ursicinus, and it is embellished only by a 'Chi-Rho', the first two letters of the name of Christ in Greek, *XP*.³⁴ Another simple inscription of the fourth century from Trier names Euticianus, followed by the word *fidelis* ('faithful'), a term indicating that Euticianus had been baptized into the Christian faith (Fig. 78).³⁵ The 'Chi-Rho' on the stone further confirms his religious orientation. In the course of the third and fourth centuries the statement that the deceased rested in peace (*in pace*) became common.³⁶ What was meant was the peace of God, to be enjoyed in paradise.



Figure 78. Epitaph of the baptized (*fidelis*) Christian Euticianus from Trier with depictions of the Chi-Rho and doves, 4th century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier

³² Mazzoleni 1999: 152.

³³ *ICUR* X. 26672.

³⁴ Horn 1987: 292, fig. 245.

³⁵ Cüppers 1990: 256, fig. 147.

³⁶ *CIL* XII. 5353, 5404, 5407; *CIL* XIII. 2365, 2369, 8482; *CIL* XIII. 8479/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 493; *CIL* XIII. 8477/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 492.

This was where the heavenly banquet, the *refrigerium*, of the chosen souls, was to take place.

The language of Christian epigraphy also developed to describe what had happened to the body after death and where the soul had gone. The faithful, whatever part of the empire they lived in, were perceived as ‘crossing over’ (*transiit*) or ‘passing over’ (*migravit*) to the Lord or being ‘welcomed before God’ (*receptus ad deum*).³⁷ In the tomb of Lucius Statius Onesimus in Rome lay the inanimate body of the man, but his spirit had been received or welcomed by God: *In hoc tumultu iacet corpus exanimis / cuius spiritus inter deos receptus est*.³⁸ A boy named Magus was believed to be welcomed by God upon his ‘return from this world’ (*de oc mundo revertentem*).³⁹ One child in Rome was ‘called by the angels’ (*accersitus ab angelis*).⁴⁰ The epitaph of Procula in Lyon says that she ‘went from the earth to the martyrs’ (*a terra ad martyres*).⁴¹ The child Concordia, who died in the late fourth or fifth century in Cologne at the age of one-and-a half was said to be in heaven (*in*



Figure 79. Gravestone of the Christian child Concordia in Cologne, late 4th or 5th century AD. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne

³⁷ *ICUR* VI. 17246; *CIL* XII. 590, 2062, 2654, 8481.

³⁸ *CIL* VI. 9663/*ILS* 7518.

³⁹ *ICUR* I. 1678.

⁴⁰ *ICUR* III. 9155.

⁴¹ *CIL* XIII. 2423.

caelis habitur) (Fig. 79), and Restutus, who was buried in the catacomb of Priscilla, was said to 'live in the celestial ether' (*hic corpus iaceo caeli sed in aethere vivo*).⁴² The imperial official Probus, according to his epitaph, lived 'beatified in the eternal dwelling place of paradise' (*vivit in aeterna paradisi sede beatus*).⁴³

Christian funerary inscriptions often have not only a few lines of text, but also images, usually incised into the stone rather than being carved in relief. These depictions allow us to follow the development of Christian funerary art, parallel to the development of Christian terminology in the epitaphs. The first Christian stones in Rome were extremely simple, in keeping with the uniformity and simplicity of the burial niches, often giving only the name of the deceased. Likewise, the images used sparingly on these early inscriptions were simple and minimal, possibly including a Christian symbol such as a fish or an anchor, the anchor being an allusion to salvation and the fish referring to Christ himself. The Greek word for fish, *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, is an acronym, taking the first letter of the Greek words for Jesus Christ, son of God, Saviour. The early third-century marble funerary *stele* of Licinia Amias in Rome is considered to be one of the oldest Christian inscriptions, and it makes use of both the anchor and the fish.⁴⁴ Further explanation is provided by the Greek epitaph on this stone referring to 'fish of the living', implying that the 'living' were those who were reborn through baptism. After Constantine's defeat of his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge north of Rome in 312, the 'Chi-Rho', a symbol which Constantine claimed to have seen in the sky, became a common motif on Christian funerary monuments. From that time on and into the sixth century in Gaul, Germany, and Italy, this symbol, as well as others such as the dove (symbolizing the Holy Spirit) and the palm (symbolizing the martyr's triumph over death) were particularly popular on tombstones (Fig. 78).⁴⁵

But pagan or rather 'neutral' images were also adopted that in the course of the third and fourth centuries took on a Christian meaning. A classic motif of this kind is that of a shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders. The gentle shepherd protecting his flock was a pre-Christian image alluding to *humanitas* and a bucolic and simple life of abundance. We find this image, for example, on the front of a third-century pagan *stele* from Cologne that

⁴² Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 490; *ICUR* IX. 25966.

⁴³ *ICUR* II. 4219b.

⁴⁴ *ICUR* II. 4246/Friggeri 2001: 164, fig. 10. Fish and anchors appear also on *ICUR* V. 13269b/Mazzoleni 1999: 150, fig. 156.

⁴⁵ *CIL* XII. 1502, 1503, 1507–9, 2115, 2116, 2141, 2146; *CIL* XIII. 2404, 2408; *I.Aq.* 3034, 3055, 3076, 3018, 3152. For illustrations of such symbols in Trier, Wiesbaden, and Rome, see Wamser 2000: cat. nos. 193a and 193c; Friggeri 2001: 167, fig. 15.

commemorates a child and his nurse, Severina.⁴⁶ In Christian symbolic language, however, the shepherd represented Christ tending his flock of faithful, and the lamb on his shoulders reflected the parable of the lost sheep. Furthermore, the Roman praying figure or 'orans' with arms stretched up to heaven, already attested in pagan sculpture, became common in Christian funerary inscriptions from the second half of the third and throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, but obviously the recipient of the prayers was the Christian God (Fig. 80).⁴⁷ Christian sarcophagi often used motifs with pagan associations such as the vintage harvest, bucolic scenes, or the hunt, in part because the craftsmen from whom sarcophagi were purchased were the same ones who produced them for pagan customers. But from the fourth century sarcophagi increasingly bore scenes depicting scenes from the life of Christ as well as Old Testament vignettes. The sarcophagus of the Christian



Figure 80. Gravestone of Victorinus from Arles showing a figure praying, 5th century AD. Musée de l'Arles Antique

⁴⁶ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 331/Faust 1998: cat. no. 114, pl. 9/Carroll 2001: 55, pl. 7.

⁴⁷ *CIL* XII. 960; Sintès 1996: cat. no. 164; *I.Aq.* 3016, 3019, 3068, 3104, 3144, 3250; Friggeri 2001: 165, fig. 15.

woman Maria Romania Celsa, who died in Arles between 330 and 335, is decorated along the front with scenes from the life of St Peter and with miracles performed by Christ, whereas the lid is carved with Old Testament scenes.⁴⁸ Particularly popular New Testament motifs are the delegation of supreme church authority by Christ to St Peter and St Paul, Pilate's confrontation with Christ, the feeding of the 5,000, and the wedding at Cana; those from the Old Testament include the adoration of the Magi, the resurrection of Lazarus, and Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac. A motif that was particularly popular in Arles in the fourth century was Moses leading the Hebrews across the Red Sea.⁴⁹

Baptism allowed the believer to be reborn in God, and for that reason baptism is a significant subject of Christian texts and images. Even if the act of baptism had only been carried out immediately before death, as it was in the case of the 3-year-old Valentinianus in Cologne, the individual could be assured a place in heaven.⁵⁰ This boy died having only just donned his white baptismal robe (*in albis*) which is referred to in the text. The new convert (*neofitus*), Iunius Bassus, the prefect of the city of Rome, may have been baptized on his deathbed in August 359.⁵¹ He was buried in an elaborate marble sarcophagus carved with relief scenes from the Old and New Testaments.⁵² Innocentius from Aquileia is represented in an engraved scene on his marble epitaph actually being baptized by two figures.⁵³ Severa Seleuciana converted to Christianity and was baptized while she was married (to a Christian?). Her epitaph from a catacomb outside Rome engages the viewer in a dialogue about baptism. It asks how long she lived in worldliness as a pagan (*quot annis vixit in saeculo?*), and it gives the answer that she lived for thirty-two years and two months until she converted to Christianity during the consulship of Claudius Augustus and Paternus in 269, after which she lived another ten years.⁵⁴ The last decade of her life is set apart as something very special, a new beginning as a baptized believer.

DEATH: A TEMPORARY STATE

Death was considered a temporary state or resting period that would be altered on the day of resurrection of all believers. Christian burial grounds were referred to in the late second century (in Greek) as *κοιμητήρια* or (in

⁴⁸ Sintès 1996: cat. no. 154. On Christian sarcophagi motifs, see Gough 1974: 102–11.

⁴⁹ Sintès 1996: cat. nos. 161, 162.

⁵⁰ *CIL* XIII. 2432/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 500.

⁵¹ *CIL* VI. 32004/*ILS* 1286/Gordon 1983: 173.

⁵² Ramage and Ramage 2000: 330, fig. 12.28.

⁵³ *CIL* V. 1722/*IAq.* 3204.

⁵⁴ Gordon 1983: 164–5.

Latin) *coemeteria* or *dormitoria*, all of which mean sleeping places or places of rest.⁵⁵ In a wall painting in the catacomb of the Giordani the scribe Silvester is depicted holding a book, the pages of which are inscribed with *dormitorio Silvestri* (in the dormitory of Silvester).⁵⁶ Some epitaphs in Rome and Portus refer to the deceased as sleeping (*hic dormit*).⁵⁷ In the catacomb of Priscilla the epitaph for the young Discolius reads: 'Here I rest, free from all anxiety. What I awaited has happened. When the coming of Christ occurs, I shall rise in peace.'⁵⁸ Lopa and Lupicinus in Vienne were hoping to be 'resurrected in Christ' and 'resurrected with the saints'.⁵⁹ The fifth-century epitaph of Bellausus from Lyon says that he 'rests in Christ' (*requiescit in Cristo*).⁶⁰

This peace in God and the certainty that there would be a day of blissful reunion meant that Christian epitaphs are not all doom and gloom, nor do they read, as pagan epitaphs often do, as bitter lamentations on the loss of life (see Appendix, No. 26). Crispinus from Trier may have felt regret that he was only married to his 'sweet wife' for ten months before she died in the fifth century, but the belief that she now 'rests in Jesus Christ' was of obvious consolation to him.⁶¹ The *loculus* inscription of Aproniane, who died when she was 5 years and 5 months old and was buried in the catacomb of Pamphilus in Rome, says 'you believed in God, you will live in Christ'.⁶² The 7-year-old Leontius in Cologne died 'happy and in peace' in the fifth or sixth century, although this sentiment is more likely a reflection of the Christian belief (and hopes) of his parents.⁶³ There are occasional 'talking stones' that simply greet the viewer but, unlike many pagan inscriptions, they are positive and hopeful, and do not contain nihilistic sentiments about the nothingness of death. The short epitaph on the urn of Stafilus in Vaison begins with the name of the deceased, and follows with *pax tecum / in Deo / have vale* (peace be with you in God! Greetings! Farewell!).⁶⁴ The lengthy verse epitaph of Vitalis, a famous mime and impersonator of the fifth century, ended as follows: 'I beg you to read this on my tomb mercifully! Say, mourning: How happy you were, Vitalis! May there be happy days for you

⁵⁵ Tertullian, *On the Soul* 51.

⁵⁶ *ICUR* IX. 24489/Mazzoleni 1999: 151, fig. 158.

⁵⁷ *CIL* VI. 1886, 1897, 1908, 1918, 1954; *CIL* XIV. 1954/Thylander 1952: B229; *CIL* XIV. 1960/Thylander 1952: B238; Thylander 1952: B246.

⁵⁸ *ICUR* IX. 25102/Mazzoleni 1999: 173–4.

⁵⁹ *CIL* XII. 2120–1.

⁶⁰ *CIL* XIII. 2408.

⁶¹ Cüppers 1990: 255, fig. 144.

⁶² *ICUR* X. 26329.

⁶³ *CIL* XIII. 8482/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 495.

⁶⁴ *CIL* XII. 1506.

now too!’⁶⁵ Some Christian epitaphs ask other members of the community to pray for the dead whenever they visited the tombs.⁶⁶ Like the ‘speaking’ stones in pagan funerary commemoration, the reader is asked to perform an act on behalf of the dead (see Chapter 2), but the response of the reader is not meant to simply recall the dead by verbal repetition, and the communication between the living and the dead prompted by the wording of the epitaph does not end as a dialogue between the two. The living are asked to intercede with their prayers on a higher, divine level.

The most crucial difference between pagan and Christian inscriptions is related to the belief that true life *began* after death. For that reason, the date of death is almost always included in the epitaph. This date is sometimes referred to as the *dies natalis* or ‘day of birth’ when earthly life ended and the otherworldly life began.⁶⁷ Unlike pagan inscriptions, the Christian epitaphs regularly included the date of death as a significant threshold in the existence of the believer. The frequent inclusion of the names of the consuls in power at the time of death of the individual provides a precise date, a practice which appears to have become a regular one in Christian epigraphy in the early third century in Rome. The freedman and high-ranking administrator of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, may or may not have been a Christian when he had his very large sarcophagus commissioned, but an inscription was later added on one end of the sarcophagus that says that Prosenes was ‘welcomed before God’ on 3 March, 217, when Presens and Extricatus were consuls.⁶⁸ The epitaph of Cornelia Paula from the catacomb of S. Ermete in Rome documents her death on 23 July 234 when Maximus and Urbanus were consuls.⁶⁹ In the Gallic provinces, in contrast, such precise chronological data do not appear in Christian stones, or at least on stones that are recognizably Christian, before the advanced fourth or early fifth century.⁷⁰ One of the early consular-dated Christian epitaphs dating to the year 422 comes from St Just in Lyon.⁷¹ It reads as follows:

HIC REQUIESCIT PASCASIA
DULCISSIMA INFANS
QUAE VIXIT ANI DUOBUS
MENS TRIBUS ET

⁶⁵ Mazzoleni 1999: 164.

⁶⁶ *ICUR* III. 8462; *ICUR* IX. 25962b.

⁶⁷ Handley 2003: 9–10.

⁶⁸ *ICUR* VI. 17246.

⁶⁹ *ICUR* X. 27057.

⁷⁰ *CIL* XII. 931, 939, 5339, 5341. Because the consular date of AD 334 is given on a tombstone from the church of St Irenaeus in Lyon, it might well be a Christian stone, perhaps the earliest known in Lyon, even if there is no specific Christian terminology or imagery to suggest this: *CIL* XIII. 2351/Handley 2003: 13. Ferrua (1978) does not accept this as a Christian epitaph.

⁷¹ *CIL* XIII. 2353.

DIES X OBIIT
 IIII KAL AUG
 HONORIO XIII ET
 THEODOSIO X CONSS

This translates as: 'Here rests Pascasia, the sweetest infant, who lived two years, three months, and ten days. She died on the third day of the calends of August, when Honorius was consul for the thirteenth time and Theodosius consul for the tenth time.'

THE RELATIVE UNIMPORTANCE OF EARTHLY LIFE

Because life on earth was essentially only a prelude to true life in God, there is, in comparison to pagan inscriptions, a noticeable decline in the number of epitaphs that tell the viewer anything about the deceased or what he or she had achieved in life. One's position in society was of paramount importance in pagan funerary commemoration, almost certainly because there was no profound concept of a life after death, and there would be no other achievements possible once death occurred. Occasionally in Christian epitaphs from Gaul, as in Vienne and Lyon, the deceased is simply said to be 'a servant of God' (*famulus/famula Dei*), which obviously was considered more important than any earthly profession.⁷² Paulus in Aquileia was also a servant of God (*servus Dei*).⁷³ In fifth-century Tarragona in Spain an epitaph refers to one of the faithful as a 'hand-maiden of God' (*ancilla Dei*).⁷⁴ Leucadia, who died at 16 in Lyon in 431, is referred to in her epitaph as a *deo sacrata puella* (a girl sacred to God), and she was almost certainly a young woman who, in her Christian faith, had devoted her life to God.⁷⁵ Such devotion to God is evident also in the fifth-century funerary epitaph of Meteriola from Remagen in Germany. The text says that she was married for twenty-three years, but that she lived a further eight years, seven months, and eighteen days as a 'sister in Lord Jesus Christ'. This presumably means that she lived unmarried and chaste after the death of her husband, although it is possible that this is a reference to her having been a nun from that point on.⁷⁶

Although there are far fewer Christian inscriptions that give any information about the occupation of the deceased, a variety of trades and professions for men and women are nevertheless recorded in the catacombs of Rome. These include craftsmen, traders, and vendors, in general the lower working

⁷² CIL XII. 2073; CIL XIII. 2357, 2358, 2385. ⁷³ LAq. 2918.

⁷⁴ Alföldy 1975: 1001, pl. CLVII.2. ⁷⁵ CIL XIII. 2354/Reynaud 1998: 103.

⁷⁶ AE 1995: 1112/Cüppers 1990: 138, fig. 138/Handley 2003: 49.

classes, but also public officials, senators, lawyers, teachers, charioteers, and soldiers.⁷⁷ Sometimes the painted walls of the catacombs were adorned with depictions of the deceased at work selling barrels, wine, and vegetables, or making shoes or bread.⁷⁸ The data on professions included in these epitaphs and paintings underline the fact that Christianity was not limited to any one sector of society, but had a fairly broad base in the third and fourth centuries, at least in the city of Rome. But this is far less strongly reflected in the Christian inscriptions in other parts of the Roman West where the social elites are in the majority.⁷⁹ Because of their importance within the Christian community, members of the clergy are often commemorated with their titles. Rusticus and Viventius, two early sixth-century bishops of Lyon, were given lengthy epitaphs in which their titles are named.⁸⁰ Various church officials, such as deacons and subdeacons, are recorded with their positions.⁸¹ Benefaction by wealthy individuals to the Church is also commemorated. In Arles a man named Petrus is credited with having established a basilica to Saints Peter and Paul in 530.⁸²

A common formula related to the age of individuals in Christian epitaphs are the words *plus minus* (more or less) a certain number of years, sometimes abbreviated *PLM* (see Appendix, No. 25).⁸³ Contemporary Jewish gravestones can also use the *plus minus* in referring to the age of the deceased.⁸⁴ This may well indicate a seemingly lax attitude towards recording precise age details that is related to the comparative disinterest in earthly accomplishments and personal data, although Handley has suggested that it reflects the awareness of the commemorators that they did not know exactly how old the deceased was and were conscious that the recorded age might be inaccurate.⁸⁵ However, there are many other Christian epitaphs where the years, months, days, and even hours lived are inscribed. This is particularly the case for children who died young. Thus, the young Libera buried in S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia outside Rome is said to have 'lived three years and two days, having been born on Thursday, 17 April, the twelfth day of the lunar cycle', and to have 'died on

⁷⁷ Craftsmen: *ICUR* I. 1761, *ICUR* II. 4675, *ICUR* IV. 12476; *IAq.* 2930, 2933; traders: *CIL* XIII. 2391, *ICUR* I. 1519; *ICUR* II. 4247; *ICUR* III. 6524; officials: *ICUR* III. 8669, *ICUR* VIII. 22635, Cüppers 1990: fig. 145; senators: *ICUR* I. 1473, *ICUR* II. 4164; Lawyer: *ICUR* IX. 25812; teachers: *ICUR* IX. 23947; *IAq.* 2931; charioteers: *ICUR* II. 4905; *IAq.* 2929; soldiers: *ICUR* VIII. 21683; *IAq.* 2918, 2919, 2924.

⁷⁸ Bisconti 1999: 114–16, fig. 131.

⁷⁹ Handley 2003: 36–41.

⁸⁰ *CIL* XIII. 2395, 2396.

⁸¹ *CIL* XII. 1695; *CIL* XII. 2131.

⁸² *CIL* XII. 936.

⁸³ *CIL* XII. 2063, 2070, 2078, 2081, 2132, 5340, 5341; Alföldy 1975: 958, pl. CXLIV.1.

⁸⁴ *CIJ* 614, 616, 644, 646.

⁸⁵ Handley 2003: 92–3.

Wednesday, 18 April, in the sixth hour of the night' (*Libera que vixit annos tres et dies duos / nata est XV Kal(endas) Maias dies Jovis et mortua / est XIII kal(endas) Maias dies Mercuri ora noctis Sexta*).⁸⁶

The recording of precise details of age at death for children reveals some extremely young ones. Whereas the nine-day-old Vernaculus from Cologne (see Chapter 6) is the youngest child known to me in pagan funerary commemoration, in Christian inscriptions a baby less than a day old is remembered in an epitaph from Bordeaux, and another only nine minutes old was given a memorial in Tunisia.⁸⁷ The commemoration of such young children is a significant departure from pagan traditions. Shaw's comparison of pre-Christian and Christian inscriptions to infants and children in different regions of the western empire suggests that children are far more visible proportionally in Christian funerary commemoration, both in urban and rural populations, but particularly in the former.⁸⁸ One is tempted to associate the greater public visibility of children in Christian inscriptions, and the commemoration of extremely young babies, with the possibility that children were perceived in the Christian faith to have a special status due to their innocence and biblically proclaimed place in the kingdom of heaven.⁸⁹ But babies, infants, and children were not routinely commemorated everywhere, even if they did have Christian parents. Handley's survey shows that epitaphs to children are completely lacking in some parts of the Gallic and Alpine provinces, and of the eighty-three children's burials in a gallery of the catacomb of Panfilo in Rome only five had epitaphs.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this state of affairs should not be interpreted as an indication that children were not loved everywhere equally nor that they were thought in some places to be less precious in the sight of God.

Apart from age at death, personal data in Christian epitaphs may include the family relationships of the deceased and the commemorator, although in the early period of Christian epigraphy the name of the commemorator is not given. Nevertheless there is enough information provided to suggest that family ties and structures did not differ essentially from those of pagan Romans. Girls married between the ages of 14 and 20, men married rather later between the ages of 20 and 30, so that age of first marriage did not differ significantly from pagan customs.⁹¹ Relationships between parents, children, and other family members, such as brothers and sisters, grandparents, step-fathers, uncles, aunts, and cousins are recorded. Some of the character traits highlighted in Christian family epitaphs are fairly basic, differing little from pagan commemoration. Leontius, who died in Cologne in the fifth or sixth

⁸⁶ *ICUR* V. 13104.

⁸⁷ *ILCV* 4374A; *ILT* 196.

⁸⁸ Shaw 1991: 76–7.

⁸⁹ Matthew 13: 38, 18: 3.

⁹⁰ Handley 2003: 70; Josi 1926: 134.

⁹¹ Carletti 1977.

century, is praised in his epitaph for having been dear to his father and obedient to his mother.⁹² Ennius Filterius dedicated the inscription on a sarcophagus in Arles to Optatina Reticia, his 'most beloved wife'.⁹³

Other epitaphs relate to Christian teaching, and individuals are praised for their virtues as a reflection of the morals of Christian society. Spouses are praised, for example, for their sanctity (*sancta ac venerabilis*), their moral integrity (*moribus probus*), or their complete integrity from vice (*cunctis integer a vitiis*).⁹⁴ Marriage was sacred (*sacratum*), according to St Augustine, which might explain why the duration of the marriage is sometimes recorded with extreme accuracy.⁹⁵ Silvana Nicias had an epitaph carved in Rome for her husband with whom she lived three years, two months, and eleven hours.⁹⁶ Chastity was a virtue espoused for both men and women. An inscription dating to 403 commemorates a man in Rome named Quintilianus, a man of God (*homo Dei*) who 'loved chastity' (*amans castitatem*).⁹⁷ Indications in the epitaphs that the deceased may have had more than one spouse or lover, or references to intimate physical attributes, as we sometimes find in non-Christian inscriptions, were unthinkable.⁹⁸

Despite the conviction that, as a believing and baptized Christian, one would be joyfully reunited in death with God, expressions of grief over the loss of loved ones are not uncommon. An epitaph of the late fourth or fifth century from Cologne commemorates the 26-year-old Martinianus who 'left behind his tearful parents'.⁹⁹ The text closes, perhaps as a form of consolation, with *in Deo ivit* ('he departed in God'). The parents Elcentianus and Palesta set up a stone 'out of love' (*pro amore*) for their young son.¹⁰⁰ And the father of the 7-year-old Dalmatius was moved to praise his dead son as sweet, full of genius and common sense, and a gifted student of Greek and Latin.¹⁰¹ The father, just like the fathers of children commemorated in pagan epitaphs, described himself as an unhappy man.

⁹² *CIL* XIII. 8482/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 495.

⁹³ *CIL* XII. 956.

⁹⁴ *ICUR* VII. 18892; *ICUR* II. 4895; *ICUR* II. 4219b.

⁹⁵ *On the Good of Marriage* 7. Divorce was frowned upon, and widows were encouraged by the Church not to remarry. On Christian marriage, see Nathan 2000: 74–106, 113–24.

⁹⁶ *ICUR* X. 27168.

⁹⁷ *ICUR* I. 3221.

⁹⁸ See e.g. the eulogy of Allia Potestas whose complexion, hair, skin, legs, and even nipples are admired, and who 'kept two young lovers in harmony': *CIL* VI. 37965/Gordon 1983: 145–9/ Friggeri 2001: 168–9. That is not to say, however, that infidelity and adultery did not exist: Nathan 2000: 97–105. For a good treatment of morality, sexuality, and the body, largely based on Christian written sources, see Brown 1989.

⁹⁹ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 497.

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* XII. 2128.

¹⁰¹ *ICUR* I. 1978.

Conclusion

Gaius Clodius Paulinus. He lived for twenty-four years, eight months, ten days, and nine hours. As you pass by, rest here for a while. Why do you hurry so? No time is lost if you read. Listen to him who lives on in your speech and who speaks in your mellow voice. I ask you to read this and read it again; don't let it put you off, my friend!

(Funerary epitaph from Forlì: *CIL* XI. 627)

In the Roman world various devices were employed to perpetuate the memory of the dead. The eulogy recited in the presence of mourners at the funeral served as one of the mnemonic aids used to recall actions and achievements of individuals and families, and memory was stimulated visually by the fashioning of portraits and statues of the deceased in various materials. Public philanthropy and munificence towards various communities, in addition, could ensure the remembrance and posthumous prestige of the dead in that the names of such benefactors were eternalized in inscriptions on buildings and honorific statues. But the vast number of sepulchral monuments bearing inscriptions relating to the life and death of individuals testifies best to the importance Romans throughout the empire attached to being remembered and revered. Choosing a prominent position and a public space for a funerary monument was an effective way of ensuring visibility and continued attention after death. Those with foresight, and with the financial means at their disposal, selected a monument and an epitaph before they died, or left testamentary specifications for their commemoration. For those of humble means, and perhaps no close family to bury them, burial clubs were established as benevolent societies from the legacies of wealthy patrons or from the contributions of the members of such societies. In this way, not only the departed members of the society were commemorated and saved from anonymity, but also the patrons and their generosity were not forgotten.

For ideological, cultural, and financial reasons, however, not everyone was commemorated with a permanent memorial, no matter how modest, and this has led us to ask whether such people were condemned to oblivion. Surviving official legislation in the last centuries of the Republic suggests that the dumping or burning of unclaimed and anonymous corpses, especially of

the poor, was equated with the dumping of refuse. Archaeological evidence, at least in Rome, indicates that such illegal activities must have posed a serious sanitary problem, to say nothing of the anguish such an ignominious end must have caused many who were helpless to escape their unfortunate circumstances. For the immediate family of other individuals who were more fortunate to have been given a decent, but unmarked burial, the social interaction at the grave and the habitual performance of rituals such as libations and meals in honour of the apparently anonymous dead must have helped in some way to sustain memory, even if we cannot measure its extent or longevity. However, if one *could* afford to have a funerary monument, it was protected by law against disturbance, and the violation, removal, or defacement of the monument was condemned. Neglect of the tomb and the intentional, and perhaps vindictive, erasure of a name on a sepulchral inscription was perceived as the eradication of the memory of that individual.

Preparations for death included the acquisition of a burial plot, and the design, purchase, and construction of a tomb. In the style, selection, and execution of monuments and images on them, regional and local styles and workshop connections can be recognized in various Roman cities. Once a type of monument had been selected, a message in words was an important consideration. The choice of text, apart from naming the deceased, was a matter of personal choice, but this choice also could be influenced by social and cultural factors, particularly if the monument was to 'conform' to others in the community. The popularity of particular or even standardized types of monuments, texts, and images within a community or a cemetery was often the result of the wish of individuals in that community to emulate their neighbours and to conform to what was deemed a suitable form of self-representation. Commemorative inscriptions were important in a society composed of many social and political relationships in which the deceased was embedded and to which belonging could be expressed. Depictions of and texts about the deceased could 'improve' reality and they tell us much about the ambitions and desires of people to be represented, at least in death, as individuals of status and standing in society.

Roman funerary epitaphs often explicitly name the cause of death, ranging from complications in childbirth, domestic violence, robbery, murder, and suicide, to work-related accidents and death on the battlefield. Because death was often unexpected, it did not always occur in the midst of friends and family. Epitaphs give us valuable information on the retrieval and transport of the bodies of people who died abroad, and they allow us to recognize cenotaphs that did not house human remains, but nevertheless preserved the memory of the dead. It is rare to find the cause of death stated with young children or the elderly, possibly because the vulnerability of both age groups, due either to high infant mortality or to the susceptibility of the aged to seasonally aggravated

diseases, was a commonly accepted 'fact of life'. Nevertheless, grief and loss is expressed at the passing of both groups not only in inscribed texts but also in the effort made to provide them with a memorial. Age at death is frequently recorded in funerary inscriptions, but there is little doubt that these data fail to provide us with reliable demographic statistics or to reveal a pattern in mortality, causes of death, and age structure that is equally valid for all regions. Although very old people are recorded in some regions, exaggeration or falsification of ages is probably related to illiteracy or a lack of precise knowledge of birth dates amongst some social groups, or to culturally determined factors such as the possible prestige attached to or pride taken in old age.

Familial and household relationships are regularly recorded in funerary epitaphs. Although the primary focus of the epitaphs was the nuclear family, sometimes and in some regions very large families appear in the inscriptions, reinforcing the fact that the Roman family was far more complex than the simple mother–father–children group. Amongst the husband and wife dedications, there are examples of married couples who remained married to each other for most of their adult life, but there are many epitaphs that enable marriage, remarriage, divorce, widowhood, and children born out of unions with different partners to be recognized. The extended family and the larger household who raised children and maintained social bonds with each other included nurses, teachers, step-parents, adoptive parents, masters, and patrons. The content and context of the epitaphs underline the continuation of the close ties of the *familia*, household members, and dependants even in death, especially when they were buried together as a community.

The inclusion in epitaphs of information on the origins of individuals can be used to study physical mobility in the Roman empire. *Origo* details allow us to recognize the existence of Spaniards in Nijmegen on the German frontier, Syrians in the Gallic capital at Lyon, or Belgic Gauls in Rome. There were many 'push and pull factors' that may have attracted individuals or forced them to migrate to other communities. The epitaphs allow us to draw reasonable conclusions on the nature of some of these factors, but they are silent on many personal reasons for relocation. Funerary inscriptions also give us insight into social mobility and the restructuring of individual lives within Roman society. In this regard, the epitaphs alluding to one's standing in society or suggesting improvement of a personal situation through promotion, inheritance, marriage, or manumission are especially valuable. Equally insightful are those inscriptions naming professions, careers, and public honours. Of particular interest are the slaves and freedmen who, in many cases, managed to achieve upward social mobility, even if their lives were played out within the confines of relatively constricting social structures and in conflict with social prejudice. It is apparent that freedmen had a greater need for legitimacy than the freeborn, because there were less 'respectable'

avenues for improvement of status open to them in life. This, in part, explains the frequency with which freedmen are represented in the epigraphic record. Funerary epigraphy is also a useful indicator of the adoption of Roman career patterns as well as the changes in personal nomenclature in public and private spheres in the western European provinces.

Having explored a number of themes in pagan funerary epigraphy from the first century BC to the third and fourth centuries AD, it seemed a fitting end to this study to discuss the forms of commemoration of the dead in the Christian communities of the Roman empire from the third century because they differed in many essential ways from both earlier and contemporary pagan traditions. Death, in Christian thought, was a temporary state or resting period that would be altered on the day of resurrection of all believers. The most crucial difference between pagan and Christian inscriptions is related to the belief that true life began after death. Because life on earth was essentially only a prelude to true life in God, there was, in comparison to pagan inscriptions, a noticeable decline in the number of epitaphs that celebrated wordly professions or achievements or that precisely recorded the age of the deceased. What is often expressed is praise for the way the deceased lived according to Christian teachings and the unshakable conviction that they now enjoy heavenly peace in the company of God and angels.

This study has highlighted the very public nature of commemorative monuments, tombs, and grave-markers. They were meant to be seen and engaged with, to be read and taken to heart as a reminder of one's own mortality, and even to serve as models upon which one's own lasting memorial could be based. Funerary monuments and the texts on them were far from being just about death. They advertised status, and commemorated a network of personal relationships the dead enjoyed. They visibly confirmed the fulfilment of obligation on the part of the heirs, and permanently displayed the generosity and virtues of the commemorators in providing such monuments.

Through the medium of the written word, the dead spoke to the living, but calling forth the memory of the dead required active participation on the part of the living in reading, verbally repeating, and internalizing the messages conveyed in the inscriptions. The many inscriptions that speak to the 'traveller' or the 'stranger' reveal that the invitation to engage in dialogue was extended not only to an audience consisting of surviving friends and family, but also to visitors and casual passers-by who had never known the dead while they were alive. The effectiveness of this vehicle of communication is attested by the fact that even today we can engage with the recorded fragments of the lives of many individuals in the Roman empire who would have remained nameless without their memorials. We read the texts, 'listen' to their voices, and become part of their audience.

APPENDIX

Selected Funerary Epitaphs

(All reproductions are as seen, including original errors by stonemasons.)

1. The dead speak and are spoken to

Epitaph of the 1st century AD from Illora, Spain (*CIL* II²/5. 686)

BARBARA FLORI LIBERTA
H S E AN XXXV
TE ROGO PRAETERIENS UT
LEGAS ET DICAS SIT TIBI TERRA LEVIS

Barbara, freedwoman of Florus, here she lies. She lived thirty-five years. I ask you, in passing, to read (this) and say: May the earth lie lightly on you!

2. Threats to potential desecrators of the tomb

Epitaph plaque from Portus, Italy (*CIL* XIV. 1153/Thylander 1952: B88)

D M
Q IULIUS HERMES PATER ET IULIA DIODO
RIS MATER Q IULIO CYPRIONI FILIO B M
Q VIXIT ANNIS XVII M VII D XVII
SIBI SUISQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM OMNI
UM SINE DOLO MALO QUIQUIS HUNC
TITULUM SIVE MONUMENTU SIIVE SE
PULCHRUM EST DEASCIAPERIT AT VIO
LAVERIT VENDIDERIT HS CC MILIA N
AERARIO POPULI ROMANI DAMNAS EST
TO DARE HEREDI AUTE NECQUE VENT
DITORI HOC MONUMENTU SIVE SEPUL
CHROM NON SEQUETUR

To the spirits of the dead. Quintus Iulius Hermes, the father, and Iulia Diodoris, the mother, did this for themselves and their deserving son, Quintus Iulius Cyprio, who lived seventeen years, seven months, and seventeen days, and for all their future offspring. If anyone effaces or mutilates or sells this inscription or monument or tomb, he shall pay to the treasury of the Roman people the sum of 200,000 (sestertii). The tomb will not pass to the heirs, nor can the monument or tomb be sold.

3. The purchase of places in a tomb

Epitaph plaque of the mid-2nd century AD from Portus, Italy (Thylander 1952: A 124)

D M
C GALGESTIUS HELIUS LOCO PURO
EMPTO A VALERIA TROPHIME
FECIT SIBI ET SUIS AEDICULAM
IUNCTAM PARIETI INTRAN
TIBUS PARTE DEXTRA IN QUA
SUNT OLLAE N XIII PRAETER
EAM OLLAM QUAM DONAVIT
TROPHIME GALGESTIO VITALI
EX QUIB OL I POMPON CHRYSOPOLI D DI

To the spirits of the dead. Gaius Galgestius Helius, after having purchased an unoccupied part (of the tomb) from Valeria Trophima, made an aedicula on the right side of this tomb for himself and his own in which there are fourteen niches, with the exception of the niche that Trophima gave to Galgestius Vitalis. He gave one niche to Pomponius Chrysopolis.

4. A couple provide a burial for their freedmen

Epitaph of the early 2nd century AD from Portus, Italy (Thylander 1952: A 61)

D M
TI CLAUDIUS EUTYCHUS
CLAUDIAE MEMNONIDI
CONIUGI BENE MERENTI ET SIBI
LIBERISQUE SUIS FECIT LIBERTIS
LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE
EORUM ITU AMBITUM H M H N S
IN FRONTE P XV IN AGRO P XV

To the spirits of the dead. Tiberius Claudius Eutychus had this done for his deserving wife, Claudia Memnon, and for himself and their children. For their freedmen, and freed-women, and their offspring he did the entrance and surrounding enclosure. The tomb may not pass to the heir. Street frontage fifteen feet, depth fifteen feet.

5. Careers and honours of two freedmen

Epitaph of the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD from Vienne, France (*CIL* XII. 1898)

D M
ET QUIETI PER(pe)
TUAE C RUSON(i)
SECUNDI IIIII VIR (Aug)
CCC AUG LUG ITE(m)

SAGARIO C RUSON(ius)
 MYRON IIIII VIR A(ug)
 LUG HONORATUS I(tem)
 CENTONARIUS HO(no)
 RATUS ET SAGARIU(s Cor)
 PORATUS COLLIBE(rto)
 BONORUM EXEMP(lorum)
 ERGA ME HERES EX (ius)
 SU EIUS SOLUS PO(sui)
 ET
 SUB ASCIA DE(di)
 CAVI

To the spirits of the dead and perpetual peace of Gaius Rusonius Secundus, priest of the imperial cult in the Colonia Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum and also a cloak-maker. Gaius Rusonius Myron, honorary priest of the imperial cult and also honorary member of the quilt-makers [and firefighters] and member of the corporation of cloak-makers. Set up to my fellow freedman, on account of his good deeds towards me, as his sole heir, according to his will, and dedicated while under the hammer.

6. An auxiliary soldier leaves a will

Epitaph on a *stele* of c. AD 100 from Cologne, Germany (*CIL* XIII. 8519/Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 250)

ALBANIO VITALI
 EQ ALAE INDIANAE
 TUR BARBI CIVI
 TREVERO AN XXX STIP X
 H EX T F C

To Albanus Vitalis, cavalryman in the Ala Indiana, in the squadron of Barbus [or Barbis], a Treveran. He was thirty years old and served for ten years. The heir did this according to the will.

7. A woman is murdered by her husband

Epitaph on an altar of the 3rd century AD from Lyon, France (*CIL* XIII. 2182)

D M
 ET QUIETI AETERNAE
 IULIAE MAIANAE FEMI
 NAE SANCTISSIMAE MANU
 MARITI CRUELLESTIM INTER
 FECT QUAE ANTE OBIT QUAM FATM
 DEDIT CUM QUO VIX ANN XXVIII EX

QUO LIBER PROCREAV DUOS PUERM
 ANN XVIII PUELLAM ANNOR XVIII
 O FIDES O PIETAS IUL MAIOR FRA
 TER SORORI DULCISS ET I(ng)ENUINIUS
 IANUARIUS FIL EIUS P (c et s)UB A D

To the spirits of the dead and the eternal rest of Iulia Maiana, most sainted woman, killed by the hand of the cruellest husband with whom she lived twenty-eight years before death became her fate, and with whom two children were begotten, a boy aged nineteen and a daughter aged eighteen. Oh honour, oh duty! Her brother, Iulius Maior, set this up to his sweetest sister, as did Ingenuinius Ianuarius, her son, and dedicated it while still under the hammer.

8. A legionary soldier dies abroad

Epitaph on a *stele* of the early 1st century AD from Cologne, Germany (*CIL* XIII. 8287/ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 222)

C DECCIUS L F
 PAPIRIA TICINI
 MILES LEG XX
 PEQUARIUS ANNOR
 XXXV STIPENDIORU
 XVI HIC S EST

Gaius Deccius, son of Lucius, from the voting district of Papiria, from Ticinum. Soldier in *Legio XX* and tender of the herds. He lived thirty-five years and served for sixteen years. Here he lies.

9. A man perishes in a burning building

Epitaph on an altar of the 3rd century AD from Lyon, France (*CIL* XIII. 2027)

D M
 ET MEMORIAE AETERN
 L SECUNDI OCTAVI TREVERI
 ACERBISSIMA MORTE DE
 FUNCTI QUI CUM EX INCEN
 DIO SEMINUDUS EFFUGIS
 SET POSTHABITA CURA SALUTIS
 DUM ALIQUIT E FLAMMIS ERI
 PERE CONATUR RUINA PARIE
 TIS OPPRESSUS NATURAE SOCIA
 LEM SPIRITUM CORPUSQUE ORI
 GINI REDDIDIT CUIUS EXCES

SU GRAVIORE DAMNO QUAM
 REI AMISSIONE ADFLICTI
 ROMANIUS SOLEMNIS ET SECUN
 DI IANUARIUS ET ANTIOCHUS
 CONLIBERTI MERITA EIUS
 ERGA SE OMNIBUS EXEMPLIS
 NOBILISSIMA TITULO SEPUL
 CHRI SACRAVERUNT ET
 EROPHILUS IN MODUM FRATER
 NAE ADFECTIONIS ET AB IN
 FUNTE AETATE CONDISCIPU
 LATU ET OMNIB BONIS ARTIBUS
 COPULATISSIMUS AMICUS ET
 SUB ASCIA DEDICAVERUNT

To the spirits of the dead and the eternal memory of Lucius Secundius Octavus, a Treveran, who died a terrible death. Having only just escaped a fire half-naked, he attempted to rescue something from the flames, without thinking of his own life. Crushed by a collapsing wall, he gave his spirit back to nature and his body back to its origins. Affected far more terribly by his death than by the loss of their belongings, his fellow freedmen Romanius Solemnis, Ianuarius Secundius, and Antiochus Secundius commemorated with this funerary inscription the great integrity with which he cared for them in every way. And so did Erophilus, in brotherly affection, who was bound to him in friendship because of their joint service together since childhood and because of all his virtues. They dedicated this while still under the hammer.

10. The death of a tiny baby

Epitaph on a *stèle* of the 2nd/3rd century AD from Cologne, Germany (*CIL* XIII. 8375/ Galsterer and Galsterer 1975: 373)

D M
 L CASSIUS TACITUS
 VERNACLO
 F VIXIT
 DIEBUS VIII

To the spirits of the dead. Lucius Cassius Tacitus (set this up) to his son, Vernaculus, who lived nine days.

11. A seasoned legionary veteran and his family

Epitaph on an altar of the 3rd century AD from Lyon, France (*CIL* XIII. 1890)

D M
 ET MEMORIAE
 AETERNAE

L SEPTIMI L F N
 PANNONIUS D ULP
 PAPIR PETAVIONE
 MARCELLINUS > LEG I
 ADIUTRICIS ITEM
 LEG XIII GEMINE ITEM
 LEG XXX VVSA AELIA
 CLEMENTINA CONIUX
 ET SEPT MARCELLUS
 ET SEPT MARCELLIANUS
 ET SEPTIMIA MARCELLA
 FIL ET H F C ET SUB ASCIA
 DEDICAVERTUNT

To the spirits of the dead and the eternal memory of Lucius Septimius Marcellinus, son of Lucius, a Pannonian by birth from Ulpia Papiria Petavione. He served as a centurion in *Legio I Adiutrix*, and in *Legio XIII Gemina*, and in *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Severiana Alexandriana*. His wife Aelia Clementina, and Septimius Marcellus, Septimius Marcellianus, and Septimia Marcella, his children and heirs, set this up and dedicated it while still under the hammer.

12. An extended family commemorates a young man

Epitaph on an altar of the 2nd/3rd century AD from Lyon, France (*CIL* XIII. 1924)

D M
 C VAL SACERIS
 IUVENIS OPTIM
 GREGORI C VAL
 GALER ANTIOCHUS
 LIBANIUS DEC
 CCC AUG LUG PA
 TER ET CL SATUR
 NINA MATER FI
 LIO PIENTISSIM
 ET IULIA IULIANE
 SOROR ET C VAL
 ANTONINUS FRA
 TER ET CL MINER
 VALIS AVS ET VAR
 RUFINA AVIA ET
 CL SATURNINA
 NEPTIS
 P C ET SUB ASCIA
 DEDICAVERTUNT

To the spirits of the dead and of Gaius Valerius Sacer Gregorius, an excellent youth. Gaius Valerius Antiochus Libanius, from the voting district of Galeria, magistrate of the Colonia Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum, his father, and Claudia Saturnina, his mother, set this up to their most dutiful son, as did Iulia Iuliana, his sister, and Gaius Valerius Antoninus, his brother, and Claudius Minervalis, his grandfather, and Varia Rufina, his grandmother, and Claudia Saturnina, a granddaughter, dedicating it while still under the hammer.

13. A glass-maker and his large family

Epitaph on an altar of the 3rd century AD from Lyon, France (*CIL* XIII. 2000)

D M
 ET MEMORIAE AETERNE IUL
 I ALEXSADRI NATIONE AFRI CIVI
 CARTHAGINESI OMINI OPTIMO OPIF
 ICI ARTIS VITRIAE QUI VIX ANOS LXXV
 MENSEN V DIES XIII SENE ULLA
 LESIONE ANIMI CUM COIUGE
 SUA VIRGINIA CUM QUA VIX
 SIT ANNIS XXXXVIII EX QUA
 CREAVIT FILIO III ET FILIAM
 EX QUIBUS HIS OMNIBUS NE
 POTES VIDIT ED EOS SUPEST
 ITES SIBI RELIQUIT HUNC
 TUMULUM PONENDUM CU
 RAVERUNT NUMONIA BE
 LLIA UXSOR ET IULIUS AL
 EXSIUS FILIUS ET IULIUS F
 ELIX FILIUS ET IULIUS GAL
 LONIUS FILIUS ET NUMO
 NIA BELLIOSA FILIA ITEM
 NEPOTES EIUS IULIUS AU(ci)
 US IULIUS FELIX IULIU(S) (Alex)
 SANDER IULIUS GALON(ius) (Iuli)
 US LEONTIUS IULIUS GAL...
 IULIUS EONIUS P P CUR (et sub ascia)
 DEDICAV(erunt)

To the spirits of the dead and the eternal memory of Iulius Alexsander, an African from Carthage, an excellent man, a maker of glass, who lived seventy-five years, five months and thirteen days. He lived without any quarrel with his maidenly wife for forty-eight years, with whom he fathered three sons and a daughter, all of whom gave him grandchildren who survived him. His remains were put in this tomb by his wife, Numonia Bellia, and by his sons Iulius Alexsius, Iulius Felix, Iulius Gallonius, and his daughter Numonia Belliosa, as well as his grandchildren Iulius Aucius, Iulius Felix, Iulius Alexsander, Iulius Gallonius, Iulius Leontius, Iulius Gal..., Iulius Eonius. They did this out of duty and dedicated it while still under the hammer.

14. A father, brother and cousin are commemorated

Epitaph from Vienne, France (*CIL* XII. 1871)

D M
MINNI VENUSTI
(De)C CIVITAT SOGION
(ti)OR ET SEXT MINNI VA
LERIANI FILI EIUS ET SEX(ti)
(M)INNI QUINTILIANI
MINNIUS VESTINUS
EMERITUS
COH XIII URB(anae)
(D)ECURIO LUG VENUSTO
(P)ATRI VALERIANO FRATRI
(Q)UINTILIANO CONSO
(br)INO KARISSIMIS POSUIT
(et) SUB ASCIA DEDICA
VIT

To the spirits of the dead and of Minnius Venustus, magistrate of the *civitas Sogontiorum*, and of Sextus Minnius Valerianus, his son, and of Sextus Minnius Quintilianus. Minnius Vestinus, veteran of the 13th Urban Cohort and magistrate of Lugdunum, set this up to his dearest father Venustus, to his brother Valerianus, and to his cousin Quintilianus, and dedicated it while still under the hammer.

15. A Sicilian residing in southern Gaul

Epitaph of the 2nd century AD from Antibes, France (*CIL* XII. 178)

C TULLIUS FLAVIANUS	IULIAE CAELIANI
DECURIONIS FILIUS	LIBERTAE THALLUSAE
DOMO CATINA EX PROVIN	UXORI MERENTISSIMAE
CIA SICILIA INCOLA ANTI	VIVUS FECIT
POLITANUS SIBI ET	

Gaius Tullius Flavianus, son of a magistrate, from Catania in the province of Sicily, a resident foreigner in Antibes, set this up during his lifetime for himself and for Iulia Thallusa, freedwoman of Caelianus, his most worthy wife, done while alive.

16. A member of the emperor's Germanic bodyguard in Rome

Epitaph on a *stele* of the mid-1st century AD from Rome, Italy (*CIL* VI. 8809/*ILS* 1726)

POSTUMUS
TI CLAUDI
CAISAR AUG

CORPOR CUST
 DEC SYNEROTIS
 NAT UBIUS
 VIX AN XXV H S E
 POS CAPITO DEC
 SYNEROTIS HER EIUS
 EX COL GERM

Postumus, member of the imperial bodyguard of the emperor Tiberius Claudius, in the squadron of Syneros, an Ubian by birth. He lived twenty-five years. Here he lies. Postumus Capito, his heir, in the Germanic bodyguard and from the squadron of Syneros, had this done.

17. An imperial slave buys a tomb

Epitaph plaque of the mid-2nd century from Portus, Italy (Thylander 1952: A96)

D M EUHODUS CAES N SER
 ET VENNONIA APPHIS LOCO
 EMPTO A VALERIA TROPHIME
 FECERUNT SIBI ET LIBERTIS
 LIBERTABUSQUE EIUS POSTERIS
 QUE EORUM

To the spirits of the dead. Euhodus, slave of our emperor, and Vennonnia Apphis, who purchased this unoccupied burial spot from Valeria Trophima, did this for themselves, and their freedmen, and freedwomen, and their offspring.

18. A freedwoman married to her patron

Epitaph on an altar of the 3rd century AD from Lyon, France (*CIL* XIII. 2308)

D M
 ET MEMORIAE AETERNAE
 QUARTI ULPI PRIMITIVI
 LIBERT AUGG QUARTIA
 SECUNDILLA LIBERTA ET
 CONIUX PATRONO PIEN
 TISSIMO ET SIBI KARISSIMO
 ERGA SE BENEMERENTI
 CUM QUO VIX ANNOS XXIII
 M VII D XXV QUI HABUIT ANN XXXXVI
 SIBI VIVA POSUIT ET SUB
 ASCIA DEDICAVIT

To the spirits of the dead and the eternal memory of Quartius Ulpus Primitivus, imperial freedman. Quartia Secundilla, his freedwoman and wife, set this up during her lifetime to

her most dutiful, dearest, and deserving patron, with whom she was married twenty-three years, seven months, and twenty-five days. He lived forty-six years. She did this while alive and dedicated it while still under the hammer.

19. A freedman, a freedwoman, and their freeborn son

Epitaph from St-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France (*CIL* XIII. 275)

v C IULIUS EROTIS
 L ATTICUS
 Ø IULIA EROTIS LIBERT
 SALVIOLA
 Ø C IULIUS ATTICI F VICTOR
 AN XVIII

Gaius Iulius Atticus, freedman of Eros, living. Iulia Salviola, freedwoman of Eros, dead. Gaius Iulius Victor, son of Atticus, eighteen years old, dead.

20. Freedmen commemorate their patrons

Epitaph from Nîmes, France (*CIL* XII. 4028)

D M
 L UTULII
 ALBINI
 AVITI FIL
 IULIAE SERVATAE UXOR
 L UTULIUS SEIANUS
 L UTULIUS CELSINUS
 L UTULIUS AVENTIN
 L UTULIUS INVENTUS
 L UTULIUS NIGELLIO
 LIBERTI PATRONIS

To the spirits of the dead and of Lucius Utulius Albinus, son of Avitus, and of his wife Iulia Servata. The freedmen Lucius Utulius Sejanus, Lucius Utulius Celsinus, Lucius Utulius Aventinus, Lucius Utulius Inventus, and Lucius Utulius Nigellio set this up to their patrons.

21. A maritime shipper remembered by his brother

Epitaph of the 2nd century AD from Narbonne, France (*CIL* XII. 4398)

D M
 TIB IUNI EUDOXI
 NAVICUL MAR
 C I P C N M

TI IUN FADIANUS
 IIIIIIVIR AUG
 C I P C N M ET
 COND FERRAR
 RIPAE DEXTRAE
 FRATRI PIISS

To the spirits of the dead and of Tiberius Iunius Eudoxus, maritime shipper in the Colonia Iulia Paterna Claudia Narbo Martius. Tiberius Iunius Fadianus, priest of the imperial cult in the Colonia Iulia Paterna Claudia Narbo Martius and also iron contractor from the opposite bank of the river, set this up to his most dutiful brother.

22. A woman in the business world

Epitaph from Rome, Italy (*CIL* VI. 9855/*ILS* 7658)

D M
 IULIAE AGELE RESINARIAE
 QUAE VIX AN LXXX
 IULIA IRENE PATRONAE
 B M F ET SIBI ET SUIS
 POSTERISQ EORUM

To the spirits of the dead and of Iulia Agele, vendor of resins, who lived for eighty years. Iulia Irene set this up for her deserving patroness, and for herself, and her descendants.

23. A specific location for the shop of the deceased

Epitaph from Rome, Italy (*CIL* VI. 9969/*ILS* 7568)

v M VALERIUS M L
 CHRESIMUS
 VESTIAR AB AEDE CERER
 VALERIA
 M L
 TYRANNIS

Marcus Valerius Chresimus, freedman of Lucius, dealer in garments at the temple of Ceres, alive. Valeria Tyrannis, freedwoman of Marcus.

24. A woman in the medical profession

Epitaph from Mérida, Spain (*CIL* II. 497/*ILS* 7802)

D M S
 IULIAE SATURNINAE

ANN XXXXV
 UXORI INCOMPARABILI
 MEDICAE OPTIMAE
 MULIERI SANCTISSIMAE
 CASSIUS PHILIPPUS
 MARITUS OB MERITIS
 H S E S T T L

Sacred to the spirits of the dead and of Iulia Saturnina who lived forty-five years, an incomparable wife, an excellent doctor, and a virtuous woman. Her husband, Cassius Philippus, did this because she deserved it. Here she lies. May the earth lie lightly on you!

25. Imprecise age details of a Christian woman

Epitaph from Narbonne, France (*CIL* XII. 5355)

HIC QUIESCIT B(o)
 NE M SECUNDINA
 QUAE VIXIT PLM
 ANN XXX OBIIT D
 XII KL MAR

Here rests in good memory Secundina who lived more or less thirty years. She died on the twelfth day of the kalends of March.

26. Christian faith in life after death

Epitaph plaque from Portus, Italy (*CIL* XIV. 1967/Thylander 1952: B247)

SECURA
 IN DEO VIBAS

Secura. May you live in God!

Selected Epigraphic Abbreviations

ROMAN PERSONAL NAMES

A	Aulus	CLA	Claudia
AEL	Aelius	CLU	Clustumina
ANT	Antonius	COL	Collina
APP	Appius	COR	Cornelia
AUR	Aurelius	ESQ	Esquilina
C	Gaius	FAB	Fabia
CL	Claudius	FAL	Falerna
CN	Gnaeus	GAL	Galeria
D	Decimus	HOR	Horatia
FL	Flavius	LEM	Lemonia
FUL	Fulvius	MAE	Maecia
M	Marcus	MEN	Menenia
M'	Manius	OUF	Oufentina
N	Numerius	PAL	Palatina
P	Publius	PAP	Papiria
Q	Quintus	POB	Poblilia
S	Servius	POL	Pollia
SAL	Salvius	POM	Pomptina
SEP	Septimius	PUP	Pupinia
SEX	Sextus	QUIR	Quirina
SP	Spurius	ROM	Romilia
T	Titus	SAB	Sabatina
TI	Tiberius	SCAP	Scaptia
V	Vibius	SER	Sergia
VAL	Valerius	STEL	Stellatina
		SUB	Suburana
		TER	Teretina
		TRO	Tromentina
		VEL	Velina
		VOL	Voltinia
		VOT	Voturia

VOTING DISTRICTS

AEM	Aemilia		
ANI	Aniensis		
ARN	Arnensis		
CAM	Camilia		

TOMBS, DEDICATIONS, WILLS, HEIRS

C	<i>curavit/curaverunt</i>	(he/they) took care of
DEP	<i>depositus</i>	buried
DSP	<i>de sua pecunia</i>	with his/her own money
EX TEST	<i>ex testamento</i>	according to the will
FS ET S	<i>fecit sibi et suis</i>	did it for himself/herself and his/ her own
H	<i>heres, heredes</i>	heir, heirs
	<i>hic</i>	here
HF	<i>heres fecit</i>	the heir did it
HMHNS	<i>hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur</i>	this tomb does not pass to the heir
HS	<i>sestertii</i>	sestertii
HSE	<i>hic situs (sita) est</i>	here he (she) lies
IN AG	<i>in agro</i>	in depth
IN FR	<i>in fronte</i>	in frontage
LLPQE	<i>libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum</i>	for his/her freedmen, freedwomen and their descendents
L M	<i>locus monumenti</i>	site of the tomb
LOC	<i>locus</i>	place
LDDD	<i>locus datus decreto decurionum</i>	place given by decree of the town-councillors
MON	<i>monumentum</i>	tomb
N, NAT	<i>natus, natione</i>	born/aged, (ethnic) member of ...
OLL	<i>olla</i>	cinerary niche
P, PED	<i>pedes</i>	feet
PLM	<i>plus minus</i>	more or less
P, POS	<i>posuit</i>	set this up
SAD	<i>sub ascia dedicavit</i>	dedicated while still under the hammer
TPI	<i>testamento poni iussit</i>	ordered its erection by will
V	<i>vivus (viva)</i>	alive
VIX	<i>vixit</i>	lived

STATUS, TITLES, PROFESSIONS, ORIGINS

>	<i>centurio</i>	centurion
CIV	<i>civis</i>	citizen of ...
COH	<i>cohors</i>	cohort
COS	<i>consul</i>	consul
DEC	<i>decurio</i>	town-councillor
DOMO	<i>domo</i>	from the town of ...
F	<i>filius (filia)</i>	son (daughter)

AUG LIB	<i>Augusti libertus (liberta)</i>	freedman (freedwoman) of the Emperor
IMP	<i>imperator</i>	Emperor
LEG	<i>legio</i>	legion
L, LIB	<i>libertus (liberta)</i>	freedman (freedwoman)
MAG	<i>magister</i>	director, president
MIL	<i>miles</i>	soldier
NEG	<i>negotiator</i>	trader
PRAEF	<i>praefectus</i>	commander, overseer
PROC	<i>procurator</i>	manager, finance-agent
SER	<i>servus (serva)</i>	slave
SEV AUG	<i>sevir Augustalis</i>	member of the college of priests of the imperial cult (sometimes abbreviated IIIIVIR)
STIP	<i>stipendia</i>	years (of military service)
VET	<i>veteranus</i>	veteran

AGE AT DEATH, SENTIMENTS, INVOCATIONS

A, ANN	<i>annus, annos/annis</i>	year(s) (of age)
BM	<i>bene merenti</i>	well deserving
D	<i>dies/die</i>	day/days
DM	<i>Dis Manibus</i>	to the spirits of the dead
DMS	<i>Dis Manibus sacrum</i>	(place) sacred to the sacred spirits of the dead
DQL	<i>dic qui legis</i>	say, you who read ...
H	<i>hora/horae</i>	hour/hours
M	<i>mensis/menses</i>	month/months
NFFNSNC	<i>non fui, fui, non sum, non curo</i>	I was not, I was, I am not, I don't care
OTBQ	<i>ossa tibi bene quiescant</i>	may your bones rest well
P	<i>pius/pia</i>	dutiful
PIS	<i>pius (pia) in suis</i>	he (she) took care of his (her) own
STTL	<i>sit tibi terra levis</i>	may the earth lie lightly on you
TRPD	<i>te rogo praeteriens dicas</i>	I ask you in passing to say ...

Place Names Mentioned in the Text (modern/ancient)

Italy

Acilia
Alba/*Alba Pompeia*
Altino/*Altinum*
Ancona/*Ancona*
Aosta/*Augusta Praetoria*
Aqui Terme/*Aquae Statiellae*
Aquileia/*Aquileia*
Arpino/*Arpinum*
Asolo/*Acelum*
Assisi/*Asisium*
Asti/*Hasta*
Benevento/*Beneventum*
Bergamo/*Bergomum*
Bologna/*Bononia*
Brescello/*Brixellum*
Brescia/*Brixia*
Cagliari/*Caralis*
Campalano di Nogara
Canosa/*Canusium*
Castellamare di Stabia/*Stabiae*
Catania/*Catana*
Cavour/*Forum Vibii*
Cividale/*Forum Iulii*
Corfinio/*Corfinium*
Cremona/*Cremona*
Cuma/*Cumae*
Eclano/*Aeclanum*
Este/*Ateste*
Faenza/*Faventia*
Fara Novarese
Ferrara
Foligno/*Fulginium*
Forlì/*Forum Livii*
Frascati/*Tusculum*
Gaeta/*Caieta*
Grottarossa
Gubbio/*Iguvium*
Interamna/*Terni*

Isérnia/*Aesernia*
Ivrea/*Eporedia*
Lanuvio/*Lanuvium*
Liternum
Locri/Locri *Epizephyrri*
Lodi/*Laus Pompeia*
Lucca/*Luca*
Lucera/*Luceria*
Luni/*Luna*
Mantova/*Mantua*
Milan/*Mediolanum*
Miseno/*Misenum*
Modena/*Mutina*
Monferrato
Montagnana
Naples/*Neapolis*
Nocera/*Nuceria Alfaterna*
Nola/*Nola*
Novara/*Novaria*
Ortona/*Ortona*
Osteria del'Osa/*Gabii*
Ostia/*Ostia*
Palestrina/*Praeneste*
Padua/*Patavium*
Parma/*Parma*
Pavia/*Ticinum*
Perugia/*Perusia*
Piacenza/*Placentia*
Pisa/*Pisae*
Pistoia/*Pistoriae*
Pollenza/*Polentia* or *Pollentia*
Pompeii/*Colonia Cornelia Veneria*
Pompeianorum
Porto/*Portus*
Pozzuoli/*Puteoli*
Ravenna/*Ravenna*
Rimini/*Ariminum*
Rome/*Roma*
Sta Maria di Capua Vetere/*Capua*

S. Pietro in Casale
 Sarsina/*Sassina*
 Scafati
 Sorrento/*Sorrentum*
 Spello/*Hispellum*
 Sulmo/*Sulmona*
 Syracuse/*Syracusae*
 Terracina/*Tarracina*
 Terruggia/*Vardagate*
 Tivoli/*Tibur*
 Tolentino/*Tolentinum*
 Tortona/*Dertona*
 Trieste/*Tergeste*
 Turin/*Augusta Taurinorum*
 Vasto/*Histonium*
 Velleia/*Veleia*
 Velletri/*Velitrae*
 Venafro/*Venafrum*
 Vercelli/*Vercellae*
 Verona/*Verona*
 Villa di Foro/*Forum Fulvii*

Spain

Alcalá de Henares/*Complutum*
 Ávila/*Avela*
 Barcelona/*Barcino*
 Calahorra/*Calagurris*
 Cartagena/*Carthago Nova*
 Córdoba/*Corduba*
 Ecija/*Astigi*
 Estepa/*Ostippo*
 Frejenal de la Sierra/*Nertobriga*
 Illora/*Ilurco*
 Málaga/*Malaca*
 Martos/*Tucci*
 Mérida/*Emerita Augusta*
 Osma/*Uxama*
 Osuna/*Urso*
 Oteyza
 Palma/*Palma*
 Sagunto/*Saguntum*
 Segóvia/*Segovia*
 Sevilla/*Hispalis*
 Tarragona/*Tarraco*
 Totana

France

Aix-en-Provence/*Aquae Sextiae*
 Alise-Ste.-Reine/*Alesia*
 Antibes/*Antipolis*
 Arles/*Arelate*
 Apt/*Apta*
 Autun/*Augustodunum*
 Bavai/*Bagacum*
 Béziers/*Baeterrae*
 Bordeaux/*Burdigala*
 Bourges/*Avaricum*
 Carcassonne/*Carcaso*
 Carpentras/*Carpentorate*
 Cavaillon/*Cabellio*
 Chalon sur Saône/*Cavillunum*
 Chantambre
 Chassenard
 Decias
 Die/*Dea Vocontiorum*
 Faverolles
 Fréjus/*Forum Iulii*
 Grenoble/*Gratianopolis*
 Langres/*Andematunnum*
 Lectoure/*Lactora*
 Luc-en-Diois/*Lucus Augusti*
 Lyon/*Lugdunum*
 Metz/*Divodurum Mediomatricorum*
 Narbonne/*Narbo Martius*
 Nîmes/*Nemausus*
 Orange/*Arausio*
 Poitiers/*Limonum*
 Ramasse
 Reims/*Durocortorum*
 Riez/*Reii*
 St-Bertrand-de-Comminges/*Lugdunum Convenarum*
 St-Remy/*Glanum*
 Saintes/*Mediolanum*
 Saverne/*Tres Tabernae*
 Sens/*Agedincum*
 Strasbourg/*Argentorate*
 Toulouse/*Tolosa*
 Valence/*Valentia*
 Vermand/*Augusta Viromanduorum*
 Vienne/*Vienna*

Switzerland

Augst/*Augusta Raurica*
 Avenches/*Aventicum*
 Geneva/*Genava*
 Kaiseraugst
 Sitten (Sion)

Germany

Augsburg/*Augusta Vindelicorum*
 Baden Baden/*Aquae*
 Bingen/*Bingium*
 Bonn/*Bonna*
 Cologne/*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*
 Duppach
 Egerndach
 Eichhof
 Frankfurt-Hedderheim/*Nida*
 Heilbronn
 Horath
 Igel
 Jünkerath/*Icorigium*
 Kalkriese
 Kempten/*Cambodunum*
 Koblenz/*Confluentes*
 Mainz/*Mogontiacum*
 Moers-Asberg/*Asciburgium*
 Morken-Harff
 Neumagen/*Noviomagus*
 Neuss/*Novaesium*
 Oberpeiching
 Regensburg/*Castra Regina*
 Remagen/*Rigomagus*
 Trier/*Augusta Treverorum*
 Wadern-Oberlöstern
 Wederath/*Belginum*
 Wehringen
 Wintersdorf
 Worms/*Borbetomagus*
 Xanten/*Colonia Ulpia Traiana*

Netherlands

Nijmegen/*Noviomagus Batavorum*

Belgium

Arlon/*Orolaunum*

Buzenol

Tongeren/*Atuatuca*

Luxembourg

Septfontaines
 Hellingen (Hellange)

Hungary

Budapest/*Aquincum*

Intercisa
 Szentendre/*Ulcisia Castra*
 Szombathely/*Savaria*
 TÁC/*Gorsium*

Austria

Lorch/*Lauriacum*
 Petronell/*Carnuntum*
 Salzburg/*Iuvavum*
 Zollfeld/*Virunum*

Slovenia

Celja/*Celeia*
 Ptuj/*Poetovio*
 Sisak/*Siscia*

Dalmatia

Burnum
 Gardun/*Delminium*
 Solin/*Salonae*
Aequum

Great Britain

Bath/*Aquae Sulis*
 Caerleon/*Isca*
 Carlisle/*Lugovalium*
 Carvoran/*Magna*
 Chester/*Deva*
 Chesterholm/*Vindolanda*
 Lincoln/*Lindum*
 London/*Londinium*
 Maryport/*Alauna*
 South Shields/*Arbeia*
 Watercreek/*Alone*
 Wroxeter/*Viroconium*
 York/*Eboracum*

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